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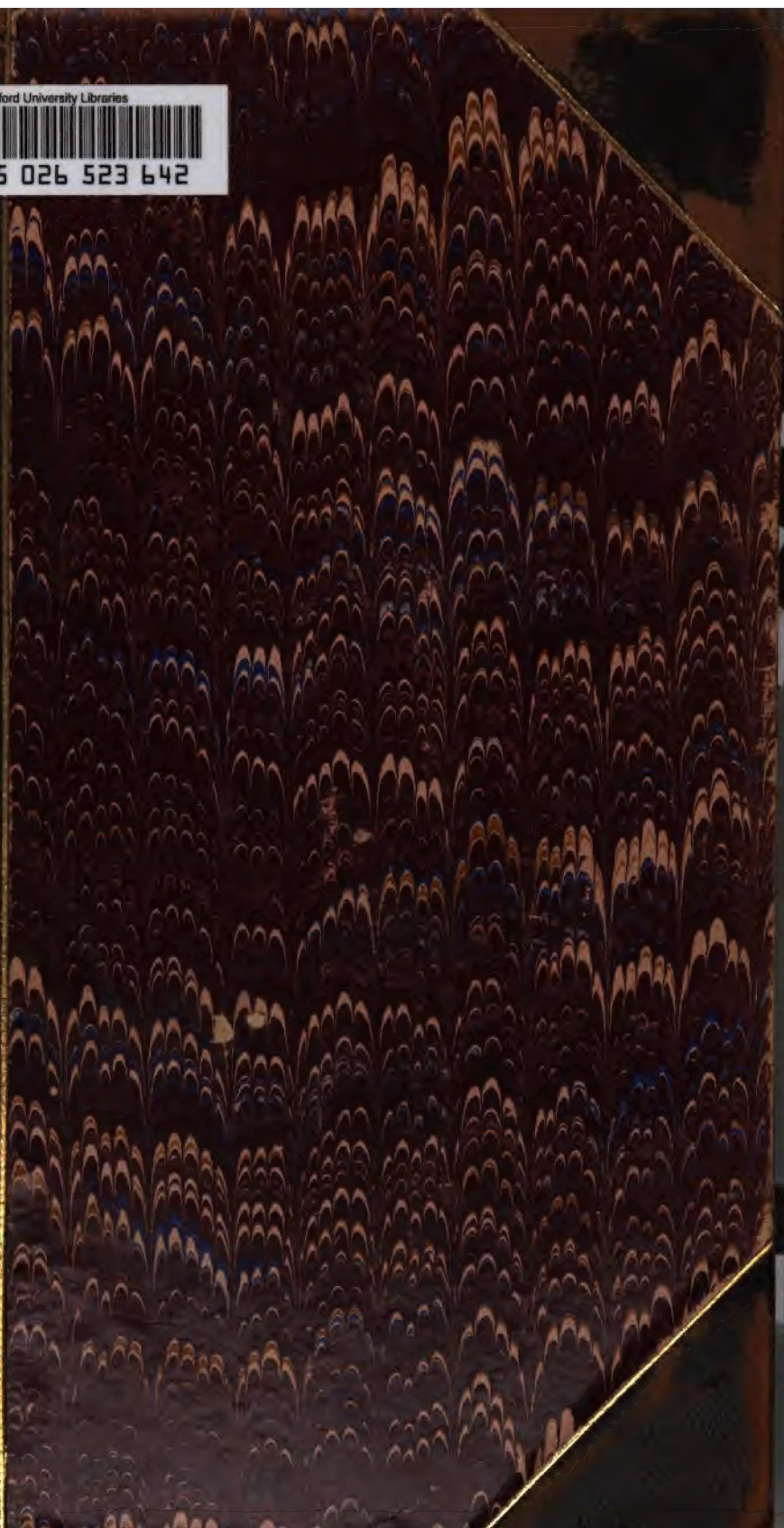
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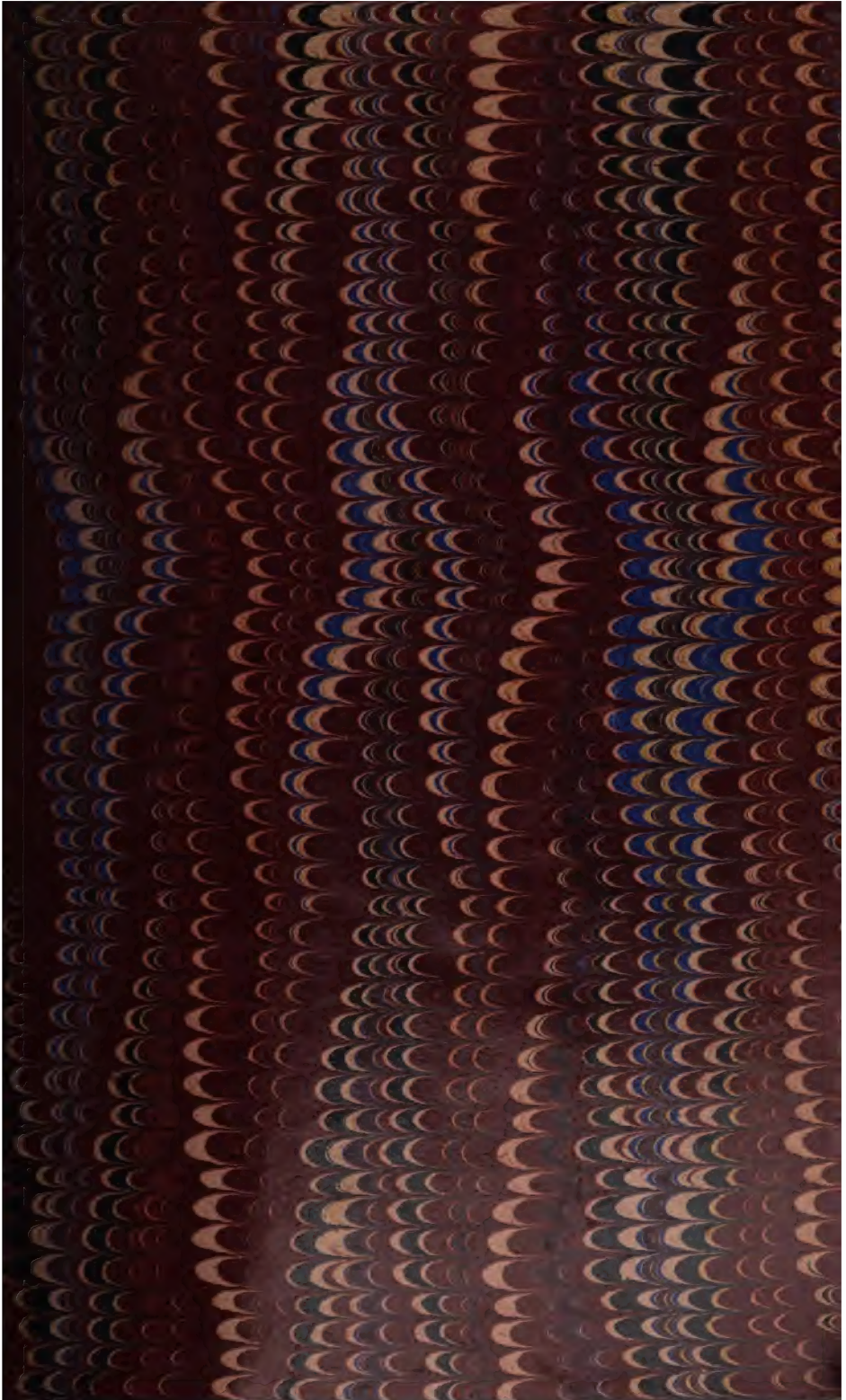


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# THE JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

EMENDATIONES HOMERICAÆ (OD. X—XII)

κ 8 οἱ δ' αἰεὶ παρὰ πατρὶ φίλῳ καὶ μητέρι κεδνῇ  
δαίνυνται· παρὰ δέ σφιν ὀνείατα μυρία κεῖται,  
κνισῆεν δέ τε δῶμα περιστεναχίζεται αὐλῇ  
ἤματα· νύκτας δ' αὖτε παρ' αἰδοίης ἀλόχοισιν  
εὐδουσ' ἔν τε τάπησι καὶ ἐν τρητοῖσι λέχεσσι.

The tantalising uncertainty in l. 10 of this passage is universally recognised. Neither the resources of explanatory comment nor the efforts of conjectural emendation seem to have been able to remove its obscurity. The difficulty centres in the word αὐλῇ. There are two traditional variants, αὐλή (FD post correcturam XTU 2 man. W) and αὐδή (γρ. αὐδή X), according to the latest authority, Ludwig (1889), who himself unwisely, as I venture to think, adopts the nominative, αὐλή.

The rendering of what may be called the vulgate given above would be to this effect:—‘And the house filled with savoury smell sounds all round in the court-yard’. Now by a great effort we may persuade ourselves that Aeolus’ house was like Prospero’s island

“full of noises,

Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not,”

though it is certainly somewhat difficult to read anything like this into *περιστεναχίζεται*. Still our difficulties are not over even then, for as the court-yard did not extend all round the house (*περί*) but only before the front, the addition of *αὐλῇ*, 'in the court-yard', is inexplicable. Hence Ernesti did not hesitate to explain *αὐλῇ* 'cantu tiliarum', and Schaefer conjecturally reads *αὐλῃ* with the assumed meaning of 'fluting', 'flute-playing', '*αὐλησις*'. So Bekker, Kayser, Friedlaender and the Cambridge Homer (1892). Obviously either *αὐλῶ* in a collective sense (Rochefort) or *αὐλοῖς* would be less objectionable or at any rate easier, as Nitzsch intimates, though he gives the preference himself to *αὐδῇ* comparing ι 4. His further suggestion that Eustathius had *εἴλῃ* is hardly a happy one. Lastly there is Duentzer's proposal, *περιστεναχίζετ'* *δοιδῇ*, which is not without plausibility and is admitted into the text by van Leeuwen and da Costa (1897), but its appropriateness either to *περιστεναχίζεται* or to *κνισῆεν* is at least disputable.

If all these methods of dealing with the line seem unsatisfactory, still more so is the introduction of the nom. case, *αὐλή*. 'The court-yard echoes round the steaming house' is of course open to the previous objection, that the court-yard, the *αὐλή*, did not extend round the house, besides being somewhat meaningless at the best. The nature of the noise is not specified, but if it was the sound of music, as is generally assumed from:—

ρ 269 γυγνώσκω δ' ὅτι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ δαῖτα τίθενται  
 ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ κνίσῃ μὲν ἐνήνοθεν, ἐν δέ τε φόρμιγξ  
 ἡπύει, ἣν ἄρα δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἑταίρην.

it would certainly have been heard far beyond the court-yard. This is placed beyond doubt by the explicit statement of:—

ψ 135 ὥς κέν τις φαίῃ γάμον ἔμμεναι ἐκτὸς ἀκούων  
 ἢ ἂν ὁδὸν στείχων ἢ οἱ περιναϊεταόουσι,

where the sound of the *φόρμιγξ*, like that of the modern piano, reaches not only the way-farer on the road outside but even the inmates of the neighbouring houses.

That *δῶμα* is the subject to the verb and not the object

after it seems to me certain from the repetition of the expression in:—

ψ 146 τοῖσιν δὲ μέγα δῶμα περιστεναχίζετο ποσσὶν  
ἀνδρῶν παίζοντων καλλιζώνων τε γυναικῶν.

where moreover ποσσὶν makes for the genuineness of a dative in our passage also.

What then have I to offer as a more probable solution of the difficulty? Simply this:

κνισῆεν δὲ τε δῶμα περιστεναχίζετ' αὐτῇ

'the house sounds with the din of voices, with the hum of conversation'. This sense of αὐτῇ—there is no need to write αὐτή—may be found:—

B 96 ἐννέα δέ σφεας  
κήρυκες βοόωντες ἐρήτυον, εἴ ποτ' αὐτῆς  
σχοιάτ', ἀκούσειαν δὲ διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων.

So again of the 'heave-ahoy' of the Greek sailors—τοὶ δ' ἀλλήλοισι κέλευον:—

B 153 αὐτῇ δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκε  
οἴκαδε ἰεμένων.

Compare also:—

ζ 122 ὥς τέ με κουράων ἀμφήλυθε θῆλυς αὐτῇ.

The word by a curious coincidence, if it be one, is exactly rendered by Virgil in a passage frequently adduced here and most erroneously supposed to countenance αὐλή:—

Aen. 1. 725

Fit strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volutant  
Atria.

Here *per ampla atria* is simply the usual Virgilian ornate variation of *tectis*, and cannot lend any efficient support to the worse than useless nom. αὐλή, to which in fact it is not in any degree an equivalent. On the other hand *strepitus*, further elucidated by *vocem*,—for Dr Henry's attempt in his interesting and valuable Aeneidea to restrict *strepitus* to the racket made



by the attendants is unsuccessful—is precisely synonymous with *αὐτῇ* as defined above.

It follows that *περιστεναχίζεται* is not to be explained by reference to any supposed mysterious noises. It in no wise reproduces Virgil's conception of the cave of Aeolus:—

Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis  
Circum claustra fremunt.

any more than it does Shakespeare's fantasy of Prospero's haunted island. In Homer we have simply a dinner-scene. The leading verb is *δαίνυνται* (l. 9), to which *ἡματα* practically belongs, as Nitzsch and Ludwich would indicate by punctuation. Rather needlessly, I think, for it is applicable not only to the main verb *δαίνυνται*, but also to the supplementary ones *κεῖται* and *περιστεναχίζεται*, v. Journ. Phil. xxvi. p. 139 Remark on *ἄλλοθι* (δ 684). The two intermediate clauses, practically parenthetical, merely serve to give additional details about the feasting and cannot rightly be extended to anything beyond the ordinary accompaniments thereof, in this case conversation rather than music or singing, though the two latter are not necessarily excluded. There is thus no interruption to the continuity of the reference (from l. 8 to l. 12) to the mode of life followed by Aeolus and his family.

It may be well in conclusion to attempt to show how in a simple manner our corrupt tradition *αὐλῇ* may possibly have originated. Assuming this primitive *αὐτῇ*, we may be fairly sure that at an early period in the history of the written text the presentation would be *ἐκ πλήρους* thus:—

*δῶμα περιστεναχίζεται αὐτῇ.*

Nothing could be easier than to misread this into:—

*δῶμα περιστεναχίζεται αὐτῇ,*

which is naturally suggestive of the common idiomatic use of *αὐτός* seen in Θ 24 *αὐτῇ γαίῃ—αὐτῇ τε θαλάσσῃ*, 290 *ἵππους αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν*, θ 186 *αὐτῷ φάρει*, φ 54 *τόξον αὐτῷ γωρυτῷ*. In the present instance *αὐτῇ* preceded by *δῶμα* readily calls up, and indeed can hardly be supplemented by any other word than, *αὐλῇ*. This from being a mere marginal addition, *δῶμα—*

*αὐτῇ* (*αὐλῇ*), would end by displacing *αὐτῇ* altogether: and so we are left with the seemingly more important *αὐλῇ*, which, as we have seen, baffles and will always continue to baffle all rational and legitimate exegesis.

\*

κ 247

ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε

*δακρυόφιν πίμπλαντο, γόον δ' ὤιετο θυμός.*

Somewhat reluctantly I have been driven by a close examination of epic usage to the conclusion that the curious phrase, *γόον δ' ὤιετο θυμός*, 'his soul thought of lamentation', 'wailing was the thought of his soul' is Homericallly an illegitimate and indefensible expression. It recurs, it is true, once again, *ν* 349, where the whole line is repeated verbatim after *ὄσσε δ' ἄρα σφέων*. The only advantage however to be derived from this recurrence is that it saves us from the error of making *θυμός* refer to the spectators of the scene, 'their soul expected his weeping', a translation that has actually been suggested as possible here.

At the same time *δίομαι* in the sense of 'expect', 'look for' is strictly in accordance with a recognised Homeric usage e.g. *N* 283 *κῆρας διομένω*, *β* 351 *κεῖνον διομένη*, *κ* 380 *ἦ τινά που δόλον ἄλλον οἶεαι*, *ν* 427 *ἀλλὰ τά γ' οὐκ οἶω*. The question is, can the meaning here required 'I think about some one or some thing' be equally approved for *δίομαι τινα* or *τι*? I am afraid not. We certainly might apply this latter rendering, and some have applied it, to *ν* 224:—

*ἀλλ' ἔτι τὸν δύστηνον οἶομαι, εἴ ποθεν ἐλθὼν*

*ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων σκέδασιν κατὰ δώματα θείη*

'Ich muss denken an ihn' (Ebeling Lex.). The better supported sense however is not, 'I must still think of him', 'still my thought is ever of' (Butcher and Lang), but simply 'I am still expecting, looking for, him'. *β* 351 is precisely in the same position. So also *χ* 159 *τόν περ οἶω* does not mean, 'whom I am thinking of', but, 'whom I suspect', 'and I expect it is he', cf. *χ* 165 *ὃν οἰόμεθ' αὐτοί*, 'whom we ourselves thought



likely'. The only other passage, so far as I am aware, which affords any justification for assuming the legitimacy of the meaning under discussion is:—

ρ 580 *μυθεῖται κατὰ μοῖραν ἃ πέρ κ' οἴοιτο καὶ ἄλλος*

Here also I am strongly inclined to believe the sense is 'just that which any one else would expect', 'quae suspicetur' (Ebeling); we might paraphrase, 'he expresses the *apprehensions* that any one else would feel'. Even if we take the meaning to be 'what any one else would think', there is a considerable interval between ἃ πέρ κ' οἴοιτο and γόον ὤϊετο. The former is far from being a justification of the latter.

However it is undoubtedly difficult to prove to demonstration the Homeric impossibility of γόον ὤϊετο: the niceties of language are apt to elude the most careful investigation. Still it can hardly be denied that the phrase is of a dubious and isolated character, and if so, there is room for a suggestion, more especially one following the ductus litterarum as closely as what I now propose:

*γόων δέ οἱ ἔετο θυμός.*

Obviously the vulgate ΓΟΟΝΔΕΟΙΕΤΟ (with δέ for δ') differs little, and indeed is but one iota removed, from ΓΟΟΝΔΕΟΙ-ΙΕΤΟ. The sense gained by the new reading is, I venture to say, unimpeachable and thoroughly Homeric: 'on lamentation his soul was set', 'his soul yearned for wailing'.

We may compare the recurrent τοῖσιν ὑφ' ἡμερος ὥρτο γόοιο, ὑφ' ἡμερον ὥρσε γόοιο, γόον ἡμερον ὥρσεν, and for the genitive after ἔεσθαι κ 529 *ἰέμενος ποταμοῖο ῥοάων*, ο 69 *ἰέμενον νόστοιο*, Δ 168 *ἰέμενοι πόλιος*, Ψ 371 *νίκης ἱεμένων*, Ψ 718, 767.

There remains however one difficulty which may seem hard to settle. The evidence for an initial *F* in ἔετο is exceedingly strong. This particular form never occurs in the fourth foot without a short open vowel preceding. Of course we may deliberately shut our eyes to the digamma altogether and say stoically with La Roche (Praefat. ad Iliadem) 'Digammi rationem habui fere nullam'. We might even go a step further and renounce Homer and all his works. In this case however the disregard of the digamma has some little basis on

which to rest. *ιέμενος* is preceded by a dactyl ending in a consonant twice κ 246, ξ 142, where *έσσύμενος* may possibly have been the original word. Two other passages β 327 *έπει νύ περ ίεται* and Σ 501 *άμφω δ' ίέσθην* are also recalcitrant. Still there must be some hesitation about adding to these exceptions.

Possibly then some may be disposed to leave the noun here in the singular number, as is indeed usual, and read :—

*γόοιο δέ ίετο θυμός.*

On the other hand it must be admitted that the possibility of this being converted into the traditional reading is not by any means equally apparent.

For my own part I have faith in the principle I ventured to lay down in discussing α 37 (*Journ. Phil.* xxvi. 51, p. 113 f.), and accordingly I conceive that the true original ran thus with elision of *-οι* :—

*γόνων δέ F' έφίετο θυμός.*

in exact correspondence with :—

*έπει πρό F' έφείπομεν ήμείς.*

In the later passage, υ 349, either *γόοιο δέ ίετο* or *γόνων δ' άρα*—there is no place for a pronoun—would necessarily be made to conform to the corruption here.

\*

κ 410 *ώς δ' ότ' άν άγραυλοι πόριες περι βοϋς άγελαίας,  
έλθούσας ές κόπρον, έπήν βοτάνης κορέσωνται,  
πάσαι άμα σκαίρουσιν εναντίαι· ούδ' έτι σηκοί  
ίσχουσ', άλλ' άδινόν μυκώμεναι άμφιθέουσι  
μητέρας· ώς έμέ κείνοι, έπει ίδον όφθαλμοίσι,  
δακρυόεντες έχυντο· δόκησε δ' άρα σφίσι θυμός  
ώς έμεν ώς εί πατρίδ' ίκοίατο και πόλιν αυτήν  
τρηχείης Ιθάκης, ίνα τ' έτραφεν ήδ' έγέγοντο·*

There are a few points in this passage that invite brief notice. For *ώς δ' ότ' άν*, van Leeuwen and da Costa (1897) read *ώς δ' ότε κ'*, but as the pure subjunctive is the rule in a simile, *ώς δ'*



ὅτε τ' (cf. M 132) should probably stand not only here but in all the instances enumerated by Mr Monro H. G. § 289, to which we may add κ 216, χ 468, K 5, M 41, O 80, Ω 480.

The form πόριες, which can only be supported from Euripides and Theocritus, should be replaced by the more correct πόρτιες, which even here is not entirely without MSS. authority (πόρτιες F, post corr. D (D<sup>2</sup> ?) U<sup>2</sup>, Eust. H. Steph.) Ludwich. Evidently πόριες proceeds mainly from the difficulty of realising that πόρτιες can be scanned —. πόρτις might certainly be written, but πόρτιες seems preferable for the reason given by Porson in favour of Ἀθηνέων (γ 278). Compare also remarks on κ 493 ad fin.

In 411 ἐπεὶ may be accepted instead of ἐπὶν. The comma after κορέσσονται involves the adoption of Bekker's σκαίρωσι in the next line; but it is open to question whether it would not be better to follow Ameis-Hentze and change the comma into a colon, not making an anacoluthon, but leaving the substantive verb (ἔωσι) to be understood after ὅτε τε, as in E 481, N 323: compare also A 535, where we now find generally printed ἀντυγες, αὐτὸν περὶ δίφρον (sc. ἦσαν).

The main difficulty of the passage however meets us when we get to l. 415. Obviously ἔχυντο cannot govern ἐμέ (l. 414), as ἀμφέχυντο might have done, so that it is of no avail to appeal to such a passage as π 214 ἀμφιχυθεὶς πατέρ' ἐσθλόν. Usage is decidedly against removing the comma after κείνοι with Bekker. Hence Kirchhoff, Fick and van Herwerden call in question the validity of ll. 415–17, regarding them as interpolated.

I would venture to suggest as an alternative that ἔχυντο is corrupt and should be simply corrected to ἴκοντο, which saves both grammar and sense. 'In such wise, when they saw me with their eyes, they came to me weeping' seems adequate enough to the occasion. ἔχυντο may well have been suggested by π 214; ἀμφιθέουσι (413) would help to maintain it as well as the idea, a very natural one, that it gives more pathos to the picture. Perhaps we should be nearer the mark in saying that it gives too much. Certainly Odysseus with half the ship's crew hanging about his neck would find the situation morally



and physically almost overwhelming. Of the other interpretation that has been suggested, 'in lacrimas effusi sunt', it is enough to say that it is not possible.

Lastly δόκησε δ' ἄρα σφίσι θυμὸς | ὥς ἔμεν must surely be read δόκησε δ' ἄρα σφίσι θυμῷ. The meaning is not "and their feeling seemed (to me) to be just as if, &c.", but "for it seemed to them in their soul to be as if &c." If this is not obvious in itself, it is surely placed beyond question or cavil by a comparison of:—

υ 93 μερμήριζε δ' ἔπειτα, δόκησε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν  
ἦδη γινώσκουσα παρεστάμεναι κεφαλῇφι.

The whole passage with the alterations I have advocated would stand thus:

ὥς δ' ὅτε τ' ἄγρῳλοι πόρτιες περὶ βοῦς ἀγελαίας,  
ἐλθούσας ἐς κόπρον, ἐπεὶ βοτάνης κορέσονται  
πᾶσαι ἕμα σκαίρουσιν ἐναντίαι· οὐδ' ἔτι σηκοὶ  
ἴσχουσ', ἀλλ' ἀδινὸν μυκῶμεναι ἀμφιθέουσι  
μητέρας· ὥς ἐμὲ κείνοι, ἐπεὶ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι,  
δακρύνοντες ἱκοντο· δόκησε δ' ἄρα σφίσι θυμῷ  
ὥς ἔμεν ὥς εἰ πατρίδ' ἰκοίετο καὶ πόλιν αὐτὴν  
τρηχέης Ἰθάκης, ἵνα τ' ἔτραφεν ἦδ' ἐγένοντο·

\*

κ 432 Κίρκης ἐς μέγαρον καταβήμεναι, ἥ κεν ἅπαντας  
ἦ σὺς ἢ λύκους ποιήσεται ἢ λέοντας,  
οἳ κέν οἱ μέγα δῶμα φυλάσσοιμεν καὶ ἀνάγκη,  
ὥς περ Κύκλωψ ἔρξ', ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἴκοντο  
ἡμέτεροι ἔταροι, σὺν δ' ὁ θρασὺς εἶπετ' Ὀδυσσεύς·

The passage is thus translated by Messrs Butcher and Lang:—  
'to go down to the hall of Circe, who will surely change us all to swine or wolves or lions to guard her great house perforce, according to the deeds that the Cyclops wrought, when certain of our company went to his inmost fold and with them went Odysseus ever hardy'. Apart from the admitted uncertainty of the rendering of l. 434 (v. Dr Merry's note) there is in the clause corresponding to ὥς περ Κύκλωψ ἔρξ' an unmistakable

tinge of vagueness, which would, I think, disappear, if we were to restore the integrity of the two concluding lines by reading and punctuating thus:—

ὥς περ Κύκλωψ ἔρξ', ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο,  
ἡμετέρους ἐτάρους, σὺν δὲ θρασὺς εἵπετ' Ὀδυσσεύς

In the vulgate it seems natural to suppose that the unmetrical *ἡμέτεροι ἑταροὶ* has superseded the accusative owing to the strictness of the grammatical views of some forgotten critic, who either could not extend his regard beyond the proximate verb *ἵκοντο* or who realised too vividly that *σὺν δ' ὁ θρασὺς* κτλ. was part and parcel of the temporal sentence. The inter-locking of clauses is however Homeric enough, e.g. θ 475-6

νώτου ἀποπροταμών, ἐπὶ δὲ πλείον ἐλέλειπτο,  
ἀργιόδοντος ὕος, θαλερὴ δ' ἦν ἀμφὶς ἀλοιφή

The exact meaning of *ἔρξ'* in our reconstructed clause calls for some remark. If it were not for the closely similar:—

ψ 312 ἡδ' ὅσα Κύκλωψ ἔρξε,

where *ἔρξε* unquestionably comes from *ἔρδω*, I am afraid I should without much hesitation take *ἔρξ'* here with Adam and Ameis-Hentze as the aor. of *ἔργω* (*ἐέργω*), although there is but one other instance of this form in Homer, ξ 411, where moreover the scansion is decidedly curious. However to say 'just as the Cyclops penned in our comrades' is not materially different from saying 'just as the Cyclops treated our comrades', if, as Nitzsch believed we ought to do, we follow the Ambros. Schol. in the explanation of *φυλάσσοιμεν* in the preceding line, *τηροῖμεν, οὐχὶ φυλάσσειν δῶμα ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰεὶ ἐκεῖσε εἶναι*. This involves no innovation with regard to *φυλάσσω* as ε 210 *τόδε δῶμα φυλάσσοις* bears witness, and it may be observed that in κ 214-9 the wolves and lions, whether they are human beings transformed or not, appear rather to play the part of lures and decoys than of guards.

Accordingly I would render from l. 434 thus:—

'and so we should abide perforce in her great house, in the same



way as the Cyclops dealt with our comrades, when they came to his steading, and our rash leader was with them'.

\*

κ 493 μάντης ἀλαοῦ τοῦ τε φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσι  
μ 267 μάντης ἀλαοῦ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο,

I transcribe from the apparatus criticus of Ludwich (1889) (1) on κ 493: μάντης ἀλαοῦ M (coniecit Hermann Elem. doctr. metr. 347), Bekker; μαντήος ἀλαοῦ coniecit Thiersch Gr. Gramm. § 190, 22; μάντιος ἀλαοῦ MSS. sch. Plat. Menon. 100<sup>a</sup>, Eust.; μάντιος ἀγλαοῦ X; μάντιος ἀλαόο P. Knight; μάντιος ἀλαόιο Hartel Hom. Stud. III 9 (13). (2) on μ 267: μάντης coniecit Hermann, Bekker; μάντιος G ut MSS. al. (ε super i scr G<sup>a</sup>).

Although there is but one MS., Venetus Marcianus 613, which shows μάντης ἀλαοῦ most editors, Bekker, La Roche, Ameis-Hentze, Fäsi, Düntzer, Merry, Platt, Monro, adopt this unique form (the regular gen. μάντιος is found N 663), although even then the second foot is a very dubious dactyl. On the other hand if following Ahrens and the more recent editors van Leeuwen and da Costa we accept Knight's μάντιος ἀλαόο, the metrical difficulty is only moved one step forward to the third foot where -ō, τοῦ (or -ο, τόο) is an utterly impossible spondee (or dactyl!).

Under these circumstances it seems worth while to propose a third solution of the difficulty:—

ἀλαόο μάντιος, τοῦ τε φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσιν

This transposition of the adjective and noun removes every objection on the score of metrical sufficiency. To the Greeks in later times however this reading would necessarily seem much too severely archaic, and they would readily welcome in its stead even such an unsuccessful measure of relief as the vulgate. I shall not discuss at length the lengthening of a short open vowel before initial μ. The analogies are well known. But the treatment of the genitival termination -ιος as a long syllable deserves further illustration:—

B 811 ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλιος αἰπεῖα κολώνη,  
 Φ 567 εἰ δέ κέ οἱ προπάροιθε πόλιος κατεναντίον ἔλθω.

Bekker in both places would read πόλεος without authority in the first case and with one MS. L only in the second. Mr Monro gives some countenance to this needless change by adopting it in Φ 567 (Oxford Homer 1896).

I will now subjoin a few passages in which this scansion ~ - of πόλιος may be admitted with advantage:—

ζ 262 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν πόλιος ἐπιβήμεν ἦν πέρι πύργος

Here the late form ἐπὴν no less than the metre authorises:—

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κε πόλιος

a restoration due to Mr Monro H. G. § 362, though he writes πόλεος again.

ζ 294 τόσσον ἀπὸ πτόλιος ὅσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας.

The analogy of H 334 τυτθὸν ἀποπρὸ νεῶν gives a fair warrant for

τόσσον ἀποπρὸ πόλιος.

π 471 ἤδη ὑπὲρ πόλιος, ὅθι θ' Ἑρμαιοις λόφος ἐστίν,

A remedy of a similar character to the above is equally applicable and equally called for by the metre here:—

ἤδη ὑπερθε πόλιος.

For the improper preposition with genitive cf. Monro H. G. § 228.

P 147 εἰσι περὶ πτόλιος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρα τις χάρις ἦεν.

If we remove the prep. περὶ, which is scarcely appropriate here for the more suitable and more usual πρόσθε, both sense and metre are advantaged:—

εἰσι πρόσθε πόλιος.

Cf. θ 524 ὅς τε ἐῆς πρόσθεν πόλιος λαῶν τε πέσῃσιν, Π 833, Φ 587, Δ 54, also Φ 567 quoted above. I may also refer in this behalf to:

T 292 εἶδον πρὸ πτόλιος δεδαιγμένον ὀξεί χαλκῷ.

for the corrupt opening of which line I have on independent grounds suggested as probable:—

εἰσείδον πρὸ πόλιος,

and the present argument tends to confirm the remarks then made, v. Journ. Phil. xxv. p. 303.

The acc. πόλιος is dissyllabic, υ —, in two passages:—

θ 560 καὶ πάντων ἴσασι πόλιος καὶ πίνοντας ἀγροῦς

574 ἀνθρώπων, αὐτούς τε πόλιός τ' ἐν ναιεταούσας,

and in all probability we should be right in substituting this form for πόλεις in B 648, I 328, Σ 342, 490.

\*

κ 505 μὴ τί τοι ἡγεμόνος γε ποθὴ παρὰ νηὶ μελέσθω,

There is a suspicious redundancy about the expression ποθὴ μελέσθω, 'desiderium sit tibi curae'. It does not exhibit the true Homeric note of simplicity and directness. The ring is rank falsetto. Next we cannot fail to observe that the form μελέσθω, the imperative mood of the middle voice, is unique. Elsewhere with tolerable frequency μελέτω is found, e.g.:—

Ω 152 = 181 μῆδέ τί οἱ θάνατος μελέτω φρεσὶ μῆδέ τι τάρβος·

O 231 = α 305 σοὶ δ' αὐτῷ μελέτω,

β 304 (μὴ τί τοι ἄλλο) ἐν στήθεσσι κακὸν μελέτω ἔργον τε  
ἔπος τε

δ 415 καὶ τότε ἔπειθ' ὑμῖν μελέτω κάρτος τε βίη τε,

η 208 Ἀλκίνο', ἄλλο τί τοι μελέτω φρεσίν·

There is indeed one passage, and one passage only, which gives countenance to this peculiar use of the middle voice of the verb μέλω:—

A 523 ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται, ὄφρα τελέσσω·

where the original may well have been μελήσωσ' or μεμήλωσ'; but whatever may be said of this suggestion, the weakness and unsatisfactory character of μελέσθω in κ 505 stands confessed, so that here at least a restoration of the true verb may be essayed with some confidence. Moreover we have in this case



a surer basis than that of mere conjecture in the possibility of an appeal to analogous usage and to some extent of tradition also. I would submit that the true reading of the line is:—

μή τί τοι ἡγεμόνος γε ποθὴ παρὰ νηὶ γενέσθω,

of which the literal rendering would run thus:—‘Let there not be unto thee in any wise anxiety for a guide with thy ship’, *παρὰ νηὶ* qualifying *ἡγεμόνος*, ‘a guide to accompany the ship’, as in the examples I have already adduced, v. Journ. Philol. XXIV. p. 280.

In actual use the combination of *ποθὴ* and *γίγνομαι* occurs:—

Α 471 ἐσθλὸς ἑὼν, μεγάλη δὲ ποθὴ Δαναοῖσι γένηται

and again in a line unmistakably cast in the same mould as κ 505:—

θ 414 μηδέ τί τοι ξίφεός γε ποθὴ μετόπισθε γένοιτο.

I do not know that the cogency of the above argument is really increased by the fact that *γενέσθω* is the actual reading of one of the two leading MSS. of the Odyssey, Flor. Laurent. 52, but undoubtedly many scholars will thereby be more willing to give ear to the objection against *μελέσθω* and to admit the alternative and, as I believe, genuine verb.

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λ 66 νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὀπιθεν γουνάζομαι, οὐ παρεόντων,  
πρὸς τ’ ἀλόχου καὶ πατρός, ὃ σ’ ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἑόντα,  
Τηλεμάχου θ’, ὃν μῦνον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες·

*τῶν ὀπιθεν*, ‘by those left behind at home’, *τῶν καταλελειμένων οἴκοι* (Schol.), exemplifies an idiom familiar enough in later Greek. A deep shadow of suspicion however rests upon it in Homer, although it would be absurd to deny the existence of a certain amount of support for the expression in the text as received. Without entering into a particular examination of the validity of the several passages I may refer to I 524, 557, χ 220. But whatever possibilities of correctness in epic phraseology *τῶν ὀπιθεν* may possess, little regret would assuredly be

felt at its removal, provided the substituted reading be satisfactory in point of meaning and conformable to Homeric usage.

With due regard to these essential conditions, I would point out that without any alteration the traditional letters admit of being divided thus:—

νῦν δέ σ' ἐτῶν ὀπιθεν

'by thy kindred left behind'. That the adverb may be attached attributively to the noun without the intervention of any article is sufficiently certain, v. Journ. Phil. xxiv. p. 280. But it is very doubtful whether ἔτης, being originally *φέτης*, can admit the elision before it, cf. δ 16, Z 239, &c. It seems necessary then to omit the δέ and to let the sentence begin asyndetically νῦν σε ἐτῶν, as does β 68 λίσσομαι ἡμὲν Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἥδὲ Θέμιστος, a passage usually quoted to justify the genitive here without preposition. That the genitive alone is quite accurate may be freely admitted; but here it is curious that a preposition is used in the very next line. This, I submit, constitutes a material difference—in Homer the use of a preposition with the second of two nouns only is almost unknown—a difference, which leads me to suspect that νῦν δέ σε has been transferred here from ν 324 νῦν δέ σε πρὸς πατρὸς γονάζομαι. Possibly then the original stood:—

πρὸς σε ἐτῶν ὀπιθεν.

Compare the repetition of πρὸς in A 339–40:—

πρὸς τε θεῶν μακάρων πρὸς τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος.

\*

λ 338 ξείνος δ' αὐτ' ἐμός ἐστι, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς.  
τῷ μὴ ἐπειγόμενοι ἀποπέμπετε μηδὲ τὰ δῶρα  
οὕτω χρηίζοντι κολούετε.

The meaning of ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς here cannot be said to be satisfactorily determined. Indeed the usual translation, 'each of you hath share in the honour', viz. of entertaining the stranger, seems to me quite impossible. There is nothing in



Homer to indicate that the discharge of the duties of hospitality was ever looked upon as an honour conferred on the entertainer. To him it was necessarily, as Cicero in humorous mood would say, more of an onus than an honos, cf. *p* 382-6. Nor even if the honour to the host be granted, is it obvious why the other guests should be sharers in the commodity. But something more than this questionable rendering of the present passage is required to make it at all credible that this idea of the presence of a distinguished guest reflecting honour on his host belongs to the primitive simplicity of the heroic age. It is rather the product of an artificial and conventional courtesy, developed under the mellowing influence of material progress, and forming one of the distinctive elements of a later refinement and civilisation.

Nitzsch, obviously shrinking from the sentimental politeness and conventional etiquette of the above view, proceeds to file down *τιμή*, till it means no more than 'good part', 'agreeable duty', as we might say. To do him no injustice, his version is:—'er ist nun mein Gastfreund, aber jeder von euch hat sein gutes Theil in ihm'. This may possibly imply that Odysseus is a piece of valuable property, in which they all have a share: but how or why that should be, is a mystery not explained even by Nitzsch's quotation of Hes. Op. 345:—

ἔμμορέ τοι τιμῆς, ὅς τ' ἔμμορε γείτονος ἐσθλοῦ.

'wo Hermann Werth übersetzt'.

Eustathius boldly makes the clause anticipate the concluding sentence in Arete's speech:—

πολλὰ γὰρ ὑμῖν  
κτήματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι θεῶν ἰότητι κέονται.

so that it becomes equivalent to 'each of you has got valuable assets', 'you are all men of property', *ἕκαστον τῶν ἀκροατῶν τιμῆς μοῖραν ἔχειν ἐν τε ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πλουτεῖν*. This mistake is not quite reproduced in the scholion, *μοῖραν ἔχει τὴν οὐσίαν, ὥστε τιμᾶν δύνασθαι*. The last clause saves the case. The writer may have been hesitating between 'property' and 'honour'; but we may give him credit for intending to render:— 'each of you hath his share in the honouring of him'.



For my part I regard this last version as manifestly better than any of those already mentioned, and if it squared with the repetition of the clause in the well-known passage O 189:—

τρεῖς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμὲν ἀδελφεοί, οὓς τέκετο Πέα,  
 Ζεὺς καὶ ἐγώ, τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης, ἐνέροισι ἀνάσσω.  
 τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδαστο, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς.

it might be regarded as entirely satisfactory. Unfortunately this is not so. There can be no possible doubt that the meaning of *τιμή* there is 'royal prerogative', as in A 278 *ὁμοίης ἔμμορε τιμῆς*, Z 193, *ω* 30, Hym. Dem. 150. This is, I think, the true meaning in our passage also. 'Each of you shares our royalty', 'our royal rank and prerogative'. In other words, we are all *βασιλῆες* together. We, Alcinous and I, have no claim to be greater than the rest of you, as indeed Alcinous himself says, *θ* 388, making the admission, exactly as Arete does here, an argument for a generous treatment of his guest by his fellow kings:—

ὁ ξεῖνος μῦλα μοι δοκέει πεπνυμένος εἶναι.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε οἱ δώμεν ξεινήιον, ὥς ἐπιεικές.  
 δώδεκα γὰρ κατὰ δῆμον ἀριπρεπέες βασιλῆες  
 ἀρχοὶ κραίνουσι, τρισκαιδέκατος δ' ἐγὼ αὐτός.

There is moreover a singularly close parallelism between that speech of the king and this of Arete, the queen.

The next clause *τῷ μὴ ἐπειγόμενοι ἀποπέμπετε*, 'therefore send him not home in haste', has some bearing on this view I have advocated. It seems indeed highly probable that Kirchhoff's *μιν* for *μή* is right, the intrusion of *μή* being due to a groundless fear lest 'sending Odysseus home quickly' should imply rather an inhospitable eagerness to be rid of him as soon as possible. Undoubtedly the alteration has left *τῷ* almost destitute of sense, whatever be our rendering of *ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς*. 'Because you are kings, do not send him home quickly' is only one whit less unsatisfactory than 'because you are honoured by his company, do not', &c., and both are capped in absurdity by 'because you have plenty of money', &c.

But the propriety of τῷ 'therefore' (cf. γάρ in θ 391) is plain enough, if we understand the queen to speak to this effect:—Your prerogatives are equal to ours. You have a right to a voice in the matter of his treatment: *therefore* I ask you to comply with his request and give him conveyance home speedily. The Homeric received opinion is that the host fulfils his duty best by sending home (ἀποπέμπειν) those who appeal to him as guests and suppliants, and that with no undue delay. Observe how Aeolus takes credit to himself:—

κ 65 ἦ μὲν σ' ἐνδυκέως ἀπεπέμπομεν,

and again the extent of what is implied in the apologetic statement:—

κ 73 οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν οὐδ' ἀποπέμπειν  
ἄνδρα τόν, ὅς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθεται μακάρεσσιν.

Compare also Menelaus' exposition of the whole duty of a host ο 68—74.

I cannot however feel any confidence in the genuine character of the glaring hiatus in ἐπειγόμενοι ἀποπέμπετε. I should venture to restore the metre by a slight change, thus:—

τῷ μιν ἐπειγομένως ἀποπέμπετε

cf. ἐσσυμένως, ἐπισταμένως. The Greeks in fact always retained a number of similar adverbs from pres. and perf. participles, e.g. πρεπόντως, εἰωθότως. In two other passages this form ἐπειγομένως may be read with distinct advantage, viz.:—

Z 388 ἦ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τείχος ἐπειγομένη ἀφικάνει,  
E 902 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὁπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐπειγόμενος συνέπηξεν

Palaeographically ἐπειγόμενος and ἐπειγομένως are identical, and not even hiatus licitus can be appealed to for the maintenance of ἐπειγομένη ἀφικάνει. So also in X 22 σευάμενος may have displaced an original ἐσσυμένως.

We now come to μηδὲ τὰ δῶρα, for which van Herwerden's μηδέ τι δῶρα, 'nor in any wise stint your gifts', is doubtless correct. τὰ δῶρα is variously explained (1) as 'your previous gifts', v. θ 439 f., or (2) as 'the usual gifts'. The first is obviously erroneous; the second fails to recognise the fact that



the usual gifts had already been given. Of course according to the prevalent style of destructive or disintegrating criticism this would ensure, or at least warrant, the rejection of the passage in Book VIII. Surely the most legitimate and reasonable conclusion is, that τὰ δῶρα is merely a modernisation of a very natural and simple character.

An instance of a corruption of a somewhat different kind, springing from a different motive, may possibly be found in the lines which immediately precede our passage. We read thus:—

Φαίηκες, πῶς ὕμνιν ἀνὴρ ὅδε φαίνεται εἶναι  
εἰδός τε μέγεθος τε ἰδὲ φρένας ἔνδον εἰσας;

I would suggest that the various and strenuous efforts to explain εἰσας, as (1) 'good' εὖς, (2) 'well-balanced', (3) 'commensurate with his physical endowments', (4) 'bright', have been necessitated, only because a would-be improver thought that εἰσας was a more effective and graphic epithet, whatever the meaning might be (*omne ignotum pro magnifico*), than the simple and sufficient

ἔνδον εἰούσας,

which indeed is by no means otiose as a qualification of φρένας here or where it recurs § 178. On the other hand εἰσας being, as we are bound to assume, laudatory in its significance practically begs the main question and makes the queen's demand, —πῶς ὕμνιν ἀνὴρ ὅδε φαίνεται εἶναι;—an idle and nugatory form.

\*

λ 401 ἥέ σ' ἀνάρσιοι ἄνδρες ἐδηλήσαντ' ἐπὶ χέρσου  
βοῦς περιταμνόμενον ἥδ' οἴων πάεα καλά,  
ἥέ περὶ πτόλιος μαχεούμενον ἥδὲ γυναικῶν;

These lines recur in the concluding book of the poem with an important difference. The pronominal object after the principal verb is no longer singular but plural. We read accordingly:—

ω 111 ἥ που ἀνάρσιοι ἄνδρες ἐδηλήσαντ' ἐπὶ χέρσου  
βοῦς περιταμνομένους ἥδ' οἴων πάεα καλά,  
ἥέ περὶ πτόλιος μαχεούμενοι ἥδὲ γυναικῶν;

Metrically this latter passage has a distinct advantage, in as much as the third foot in  $\omega$  112 is an undeniable and unexceptional spondee, which is more than can be said of  $\lambda$  402, where the mysterious potency of ictus-lengthening has to come to the rescue. Both passages exhibit the extraordinary participial form  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  with however the notable difference that in  $\lambda$  it agrees with the object after  $\epsilon\delta\eta\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$ , but in  $\omega$  with the subject to that verb. Hence Wolf, Kayser and others would read  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$  in  $\lambda$  also, the plural being supported there by one MS., Cod. Vratislaviensis 28. Obviously the reverse assimilation is debarred by the metre. It would be too much to say that the plural  $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\omega\acute{\nu}$  is more consistent with the plural participle: but the combination  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu-\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$  has this advantage; it makes the victim in each case the aggressor. It is noteworthy that in these two points the superiority rests with  $\omega$  as against  $\lambda$ , although we can well imagine how gratifying as a piece of evidence the converse would have been to many scholars headed by Aristarchus, who have found much to complain of in the two concluding books of the Odyssey.

The form  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$  is a remarkable, indeed an astounding, linguistic development. That a presumed  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$  may for metrical reasons become  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  is strictly in accordance with other recognised and well-established analogies, e.g.  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$ ,  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ ,  $\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\beta\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\delta\kappa\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ , though it might probably be more desirable, as it is certainly possible, to regard  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  as the participle of a desiderative form  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\alpha\iota$ , 'I am eager to fight'. The solitary example of  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  may here be fitly quoted:—

$\rho$  471  $\acute{o}\pi\pi\acute{o}\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \omicron\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota \mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma \kappa\tau\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$   
 $\beta\lambda\acute{\eta}\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \eta \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu \eta \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma \acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu$

Van Leuwen and da Costa have, not without some violence, contrived to introduce this form into the two passages at present disfigured with  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ , reading thus:—

$\eta\delta\epsilon \mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota \pi\tau\acute{o}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma \pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota \eta\delta\epsilon \gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\omega\acute{\nu}$ .

In this proposed rehabilitation I fear I must decline to



accompany the ingenious authors. I confess I am not reconciled to the transposition of *περὶ πτόλιος* even by the superadded grace of hiatus licitus. It seems to me that *περὶ πτόλιος* is practically confirmed by the parallel:—

Σ 265 ἀλλὰ περὶ πτόλιός τε μαχήσεται ἡδὲ γυναικῶν.

Furthermore this line directly suggests what is in all probability the true reading in our two passages:—

ἡὲ περὶ πτόλιός τε μαχοῦμενοι ἡδὲ γυναικῶν.

I have adopted the form in *-οῦμενος*, because the MS. above mentioned Cod. Vrat. reads it; but two MSS. of the highest quality, Flor. Laur. 52 and Harl. 5674, have *μαχεόμενον*, which should not be lightly dismissed, as the crasis of *-εο* is easy, and yet the neglect of it would be likely to lead to the scansion represented by the vulgate *μαχεούμενον*, certainly so after the removal of the little particle *τε*.

We may also acknowledge this crasis by writing *μαχεόμενοι* on the analogy of *πονεύμενον* (Δ 374) &c. &c., as indeed Bothe proposed to do, conjecturing *πτόλιός γε μαχεούμενον*: but while the insertion of *γε* is evidently entirely gratuitous and unwarrantable, *πτόλιός τε—ἡδὲ γυναικῶν* is quite as correct here as in Σ 265. Obviously the loss of *τε* is due primarily to the preceding *ἡέ*, which very naturally, but most unfortunately, caused the following *ἡδέ* to be changed to *ἡέ*, as indeed most MSS. have it written. After this depravation *τε* has no foot-hold, and the metre makes the abnormal *μαχεούμενον* a desperate necessity.

\*

λ 584 στεῦτο δὲ διψάων, πιέειν δ' οὐκ εἶχεν ἐλέσθαι.

This line belongs to the description of Tantalus in the lake, *ἑσταότ' ἐν λίμνῃ*. The word *στεῦτο* has been productive of much discussion. Hesychius tells us it means 'he stood', *ἵστατο*. On the other hand Aristarchus defined *στεῦτο* metaphorically, *κατὰ διάνοιαν διωρίζετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ποδῶν στάσεως· στάσιν γὰρ ψυχῆς σημαίνει ἢ λέξις* (Aristonicus). There is also an intermediate view, of which we may take

Mer. Casaubon, whose words are frequently quoted with approbation, as the representative. He seems to think the sense is 'he struck an attitude', 'stood on tiptoe with his mouth open', 'hoc igitur vult poeta his verbis, eam fuisse Tantali seu in pedes erecti sive alio quocunque gestu, ut de pugilibus olim loqui soliti, *προβολήν*, ut ardentissimam sitim prae se ferret'. I regard this as an ingenious, but somewhat unsuccessful, attempt to amalgamate the conflicting opinions of Hesychius and Aristarchus. Why should a man raise himself (in pedes erecti) to reach water he is standing in? It rests with us to decide between Hesychius and Aristarchus, and usage must guide the decision. In spite of Ameis-Hentze's amusing 'gebarte sich als ein Durstender', 'he behaved as a thirsty man', it will never do to make Homer the *corpus vile* of this trimming eclecticism with whatever wealth of picturesque detail it may be adorned for our acceptance.

We find our verb in the following passages:—

- B 597 στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν  
 Γ 83 στεῦται γὰρ τι ἔπος ἐρέειν κορυθαίολος Ἑκτώρ  
 E 832 ὃς πρόφην μὲν ἐμοί τε καὶ Ἡρῇ στεῦτ' ἀγορεύων  
 Τρωσὶ μαχήσεσθαι, ἀτὰρ Ἀργείοισιν ἀρήξειν  
 I 241 στεῦται γὰρ νηῶν ἀποκόψειν ἄκρα κόρυμβα  
 Σ 191 στεῦτο γὰρ Ἡφαίστοιο πᾶρ' οἰσέμεν ἔντεα καλὰ.  
 Φ 455 στεῦτο δ' ὃ γ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολεψέμεν οὔατα χαλκῶ.  
 ρ 525 στεῦται δ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀκούσαι  
 ἀγχού

To be eager, enthusiastic, keen, sharp-set, to feel sure and to express this eager assurance, would satisfy the requirements of these passages, and Aristarchus, who derived his knowledge from a careful study of the text, is absolutely and entirely right. How does the employment of the verb in the present instance agree with the ordinary Homeric usage? There is one clear point of difference. Here *στεῦτο* stands by itself without any dependent infinitive, such as is found in all the other instances. We may be told this is a proof that the whole passage is a late accretion, as indeed it may be: but this peculiarity of usage must not, I think, be pressed into



service as evidence that it is so, and for this reason. If we look a little closer, we find *στεῦτο* without an infinitive; but in the immediate sequence *εἶχεν* crops up encumbered with two. Moreover the latter clause is hardly Homeric. Of course it is possible to translate it with Dr Merry, 'but he was not able to take anything to drink withal,' or with Messrs Butcher and Lang, 'but he might not attain to the water to drink of it'. But neither free colloquial modernism nor grace of antique phraseology can remove our misgivings. The objection is that an epexegetical infinitive, such as *πιέειν* is here, would hardly stand first in a genuine Homeric sentence; its regular position is last, e.g. A 8 *ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι*, &c. Would it not then be better here to give each verb its infinitive and leave no anomaly? The change is mainly one of punctuation. Only a slight verbal alteration would be necessary:—

*στεῦτο δὲ διψῶν πιέειν, οὐ δ' εἶχεν ἐλέσθαι.*

'He was eager in his thirst to drink, but was not able to reach the water'. The clause *στεῦτο δὲ διψῶν πιέειν* exactly reproduces the construction of

E 832

*στεῦτ' ἀγορεύων*

*Τρῶσὶ μαχήσεσθαι.*

The only possible objection of any weight or importance would be that *πιέειν* should be the future, and certainly usage, as may be seen above, is in favour of that tense. At the same time the aoristic sense of *πιέειν* does not seem altogether out of place here, 'to get just one drink'. Those who believe the future indispensable may easily read *πίεσθ'* (*πίεσθαι*); for assuredly the later Greeks would have sacrificed *πίεσθ'* in favour of *πιέειν* without a qualm. An avoidable elision of *-αι* generally disappeared. Even in the line just mentioned:—

E 833 *Τρῶσὶ μαχέσσεσθαι, ἀτὰρ Ἀργείοισιν ἀρήξειν*  
the original was probably enough:—

*Τρώεσσιν μαχέσεσθ', ἀτὰρ κτλ.*

and the same form of remedy is equally applicable to the very similar:—

E 483 ἀνδρὶ μαχήσασθαι· ἀτὰρ οὐ τί μοι ἐνθάδε τοῖον

Read:—

ἄνδρεσσιν μαχέσασθ'.

I will add two more examples in illustration:—

σ 39 χερσὶ μαχέσασθαι· ἀλλὰ ξυνελάσσομεν ὦκα

Read:—

χείρεσσιν μαχέσασθ'.

ν 112 ἄνδρες ἐσέρχονται, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὁδὸς ἐστίν

Read:—

ἄνερες εἰσέρχοντ'.

Nor is this peculiarity confined to the penthemimeral caesura. I may adduce:—

N 356 \* \* \* ἀλεξέμεναι ἀλέεινεν for ἀλεξέμεν ἐξαλέεινεν.

ξ 91 μνᾶσθαι οὐδὲ νέεσθαι \* \* \* for μνάεσθ' οὐδέ. (So the Cambridge Homer 1892.)

B 590 τίσασθαι Ἑλένης \* \* \* for ἐκτίσασθ' Ἑλένης.

π 24 ὄψεσθαι ἐφάμην \* \* \* for εἰσόψεσθ' ἐφάμην.

See also note on A 758 with proposed restoration, Journ. Phil. xxiv. p. 282 f.

\*

μ 98 τῇ δ' οὐ πῶ ποτε ναῦται ἀκήριοι εὐχετόωνται  
παρφυγέειν σὺν νηί·

ψ 328 Σκύλλην θ' ἦν οὐ πῶ ποτ' ἀκήριοι ἄνδρες ἄλυξαν.

In these two quotations, both referring to the monster Scylla, we have the adjective ἀκήριοι used in the exceptional sense of 'unharméd', 'scatheless'. So at least we are told by the authorities, and it is patent that the ordinary meaning of ἀκήριος, 'with no heart for anything', 'dispirited', is precisely the most unsuitable idea that could be imported into either sentence. All the same this last is certainly the proper and distinctive sense of ἀκήριος, as the following passages bear witness:—

E 812 ἦ νύ σέ που δέος ἴσχει ἀκήριον·

817 οὔτε τί με δέος ἴσχει ἀκήριον οὔτε τις ὄκνος,





protest against the usual translation, 'unmingled', 'undiluted'. Of course it was 'unwatered'. But no one intent on setting forth the unrivalled potency of a wine would begin with such a superfluous statement.

\*

μ 113 εἴ πως τὴν ὀλοὴν μὲν ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι Χάρυβδιν,  
τὴν δέ κ' ἀμυναίμην, ὅτε μοι σίνοιτό γ' ἑταίρους.

No argument or array of passages is needed to show that τὴν ὀλοὴν is not primitive, cf. Journ. Phil. xxv. pp. 141 ff. The original form of the clause is fortunately discernible enough from the words immediately following. That we should have two verbs after εἴ πως, the former, ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι, without κε and the latter ἀμυναίμην with κε, is not only irrational in itself, but in Homer lacks the thread of support from little eccentricities of usage which later Greek might furnish. Now if κε had been found with ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι, we might undoubtedly have been satisfied to supply it in thought to ἀμυναίμην; but not reversely. We may surely restore without much fear of error:—

εἴ κέν πως ὀλοὴν μὲν ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι Χάρυβδιν.

There is indeed one other passage in which the obnoxious combination τὴν ὀλοὴν reappears:—

μ 428 ὄφρ' ἔτι τὴν ὀλοὴν ἀναμετρήσαιμι Χάρυβδιν.

In this case there is nothing to show what τὴν has superseded. Still it would be little below the height of foolishness to argue that an emendation visibly indicated in one passage should be set aside and refused admission, because the same fault in another place cannot be removed with similar assurance of correctness. Duly recognising however the inevitable lack of cogent force to drive home the suggestion, we may nevertheless find a possible remedy by borrowing πως from our passage, μ 113:—

ὄφρ' ἔτι πως ὀλοὴν.

Other solutions may however be devised such as ὄφρ' ἔτ' ἐγὼ γ' ὀλοὴν, &c.

It would scarcely be right to pass over unnoticed the fact that, while αἵ (εἵ) κέν πως (ἤν πως) with subjunctive and εἵ πως with optative occur with tolerable frequency, there is no extant example of εἵ κέν πως with the optative save this εἵ πως—κ' ἀμυναίμην, which is somewhat hidden from view by the intervening words. Obviously however the presence of πως makes no material difference, and the case is the same as that of εἵ κεν with optative, which must be recognised as Homeric, though scholars have been tempted to suggest in some instances that γε should be read in place of κε, v. Monro, H. G. § 313. We find εἵ πως with optative N 807, Ξ 163, P 104, T 464, X 196, δ 388, ι 317, κ 147, χ 91. With the exception above named no instance of εἵ κέν πως with this mood has come down to us in the text of Homer, but there is one passage from which an original κεν has almost certainly been ejected:—

ξ 460 εἵ πῶς οἱ ἐκδὺς χλαῖναν πόροι.

The metre urgently requires and the sense readily admits the restoration:—

εἵ κέν πῶς F' ἐκδὺς χλαῖναν πόροι.

Compare also ξ 118, Λ 792.

On μ 114 it is worth remark that σίνουτό γ'—there is no room for any special emphasis on the verb here—exhibits a peculiar and perilous use of γε. It is little more than a mere metrical stop-gap. Save for the rule of modal attraction, which is not always operative, cf. γ 320, the subjunctive would be regular. I suggest then that ὅτε μοι σίνηται was the original. May not the optative with its weak appendage be the outcome of a laudable but disastrous feeling, that Homer ought not to be allowed to lack any of the elegancies of expression in vogue from time to time, especially one which could be foisted in by the addition of such an unconsidered trifle as γε?

μ 177 ἐξείης δ' ἐτάροισιν ἐπ' οὔατα πᾶσιν ἄλειψα.

One good MS., Venetus Marcianus 647, has οὔασι here, which would bring the construction into harmony with:—

μ 200 ὃν σφιν ἐπ' ὥσιν ἄλειψ', ἐμέ τ' ἐκ δεσμῶν ἀνέλυσαν.

where Knight proposed οὔασ', leaving the grammar unaltered. There remains however one other example of ἐπαλείφω, which must be taken into account:—

μ 47 ἀλλὰ παρεξελάαν, ἐπὶ δ' οὔατ' ἀλείψαι ἐταίρων  
κηρὸν δεψήσας μελιθήα.

This question of the grammatical construction is well worth consideration. The dictum in Ameis-Hentze that ἐπί is a preposition in μ 200, but belongs to the verb in the other two passages, affords no relief whatever, as I shall show. Indeed the converse statement would perhaps be more difficult to disprove.

Now the simple verb ἀλείφω is fairly common and its construction undisputed:—

Σ 350 λόεσάν τε καὶ ἤλειψαν λίπ' ἐλαίφ.

Ξ 175 τῷ ῥ' ἢ γε χροά καλὸν ἀλειψαμένη,

but the compound verb ἐπαλείφω, just like προσαλείφω, which appears:—

κ 392 ἐρχομένη προσάλειφε ἐκάστῳ φάρμακον ἄλλο,

would naturally and necessarily take, as in μ 200, an accusative of the unguent or material employed and a dative of that to which it is applied. We may compare the similar difference existing between the use of βάλλω:—

Η 266 τῷ βάλεν Αἴαντος δεινὸν σάκος

and of ἐπιβάλλω:—

δ 440 βάλεν δ' ἐπὶ δέρμα ἐκάστῳ.

The addition of νότοιςι to this last would make the parallel with μ 200 absolutely complete. But the case in favour of the construction given in μ 200 and against that in μ 177 is even stronger than this. It is backed by the analogous usage of a host of verbs compounded with ἐπί, e.g. ἐπιτίθημι,



ἐφίημι, ἐπάγω, ἐπιπάσσω, ἐπιτανύω, ἐπιχέω. Examples need hardly be adduced here. They are accessible to everybody.

There are, I believe, only two apparent exceptions:—

Ω 351 δὴ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλυθε γαῖαν.

ε 175 τὸ δ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ νῆες εἶσαι

ὠκύποροι περώσιν,

τό in the last instance refers to μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης. No one will pretend that these two afford the least countenance to the construction in μ 177. In them the accusatives follow intransitive verbs of motion and denote a large and extended space, such an extension as cannot possibly be compared to that belonging to the ears of the men of Odysseus, even though uncharitably and unwarrantably we should endow them one and all with the 'large fair ears' of the 'translated' Bully Bottom himself.

It appears then that G. Curtius' οὔατ' (οὔατα) for the vulgate ὥσιν in l. 200 is a step in the wrong direction, welcomed though it has been by Hinrichs, Cauer and the Leyden editors, van Leeuwen and da Costa, who refrain however from following Curtius in changing ὄν to ὦ. Much more worthy of acceptance is Knight's οὔασ', approved by Nauck and Kirchhoff.

It follows also that in μ 177 οὔατα cannot be right, though it is not necessary to extend the condemnation to οὔατ' in μ 47; for obviously οὔατ' may stand in Homer for οὔατι just as easily as for οὔατα, although the later Greeks did not like to make the acknowledgement. Hence I would read:—

μ 177 ἐξείης δ' ἐτάροισιν ἐπ' οὔατι πᾶσιν ἄλειψα.

The change is of the slightest. Even in μ 200 the same form οὔατ' (οὔατι) may be correct, as ὥσιν is obviously a modernisation.

The use of the singular οὔατι in these passages does not constitute a difficulty, although it may have helped to bring about the received debasements, precisely as in τ 539, where our received text runs:—

πᾶσι κατ' αὐχένας ἦξε

though every scholar knows that the original must have been :—

*πᾶσι κατ' αὐχέν' ἔαξε*

*αὐχέν' ἔηξεν* [ἔαξε cod. V] Herodian. This passage is additionally interesting, because it exhibits the very *πᾶσι(ν)* of *μ* 177. But this use of the singular in a distributive sense is fairly frequent in Homer, cf. *μ* 332 = *δ* 369 *ἔτειρε δὲ γαστέρα λιμός*. *δ* 300 *δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσai*. v. Monro, H. G. § 170 for other examples.

\*

*μ* 185 *νῆα κατάστησον, ἵνα νωιτέρην ὅπ' ἀκούσης*.

An undoubted metrical improvement could be secured in this line by transposing *ἵνα* and *ὅπα* :—

*νῆα κατάστησον, ὅπα νωιτέρην ἵν' ἀκούσης*.

It is true the next line but one ends with *ὅπ' ἀκούσαι*, but this is quite as much in favour of, as against, the suggested arrangement. The position assigned to the conjunction giving emphasis to the noun and adjective may be supported not only by the well-known instances of single words so emphasised

A 32 *ἀλλ' ἴθι μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὥς κε νέηαι*  
*υ* 47 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ θεός εἰμι, διαμπερὲς ἦ σε φυλάσσω*

*μ* 140, 331, *ι* 15, Hym. Herm. 530,

but by :—

*μ* 49 *ἀτὰρ αὐτὸς ἀκουέμεν αἶ κ' ἐθέλησθα*  
*E* 27 *Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι ἐπεὶ ἴδον υἷε Δάρητος—*  
*πᾶσιν ὀρίνθη θυμός*

*Z* 474 *αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ὃν φίλον υἷον ἐπεὶ κύσε πῆλτέ τε χερσίν,*  
*εἶπε δ' ἐπευξάμενος Δίί τ' ἄλλοισίν τε θεοῖσιν*

So in the next passage :—

*A* 566 *μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμωσιν, ὅσοι θεοὶ εἰς' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ,*  
*ἄσπον ἰὼν ὅτε κέν τοι ἀάπτους χεῖρας ἐφείω.*

(Bentley.)



ἰών is probably after all the true reading, for ἰόνθ' the traditional form savours very strongly of an attempt to connect the two words by hook or by crook with the preceding verb *χραίσμωσιν*. There was no unanimity even among the ancient Homeric scholars as to what this ἰόνθ' represented. Zenodotus took it for ἰόντε: Aristarchus for ἰόντι. Modern editors are pretty unanimous in condemning both, and deciding in favour of ἰόντα, though many look with longing eyes on Bentley's conjecture and lament the fact that no MS. gives the reading.

The principle of this postponement of the conjunction is quite analogous to the case of the enclitic personal pronoun, noticed and defended on *a* 37 (Journ. Phil. XXVI. p. 114 f.).

In the last line of this song of the Sirens (*μ* 191)

ἴδμεν δ' ὅσσα γένηται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ.

I would suggest the slight change of ὅσσα into ἄσσα as a desirable grammatical amelioration, cf. *A* 554

ἀλλὰ μάλ' εὐκηλος τὰ φράζειαι ἄσσ' ἐθέλησθα

There seems indeed to be no other instance of ὅσος with the *pure* subjunctive.

\*

*μ* 199 αἰψ' ἀπὸ κηρὸν ἔλοντο ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι,  
397 = ξ 249 ἐξήμαρ μὲν ἔπειτα ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι  
δαίνυντ'.

*ι* 172 ἄλλοι μὲν νῦν μέμνεν', ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι  
554 ἀλλ' ὃ γε μερμήριζεν ὅπως ἀπολοίατο πᾶσαι  
νῆες εὖσσελμοι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι.

Ψ 6 Μυρμίδονες ταχύπωλοι, ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι,

The above lines exhibit all the instances in the Homeric poems of the expression, ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι, and deserve a close consideration. The formula stands twice as a vocative of address, *ι* 172, Ψ 6, and in these two instances the use of the emphatic possessive pronoun seems natural. In the remaining four cases it is certainly somewhat forced. It would be just as erroneous to attribute the pronoun in *μ* 199, *ι* 555 to

affectionate regard, as it would to look upon it in  $\mu$  397,  $\xi$  249 as a touch of sarcastic irony.

In the next place the metre calls for remark. It is a very peculiar feature in these verses that we have a long open diphthong in the fourth foot maintaining its original quantity before a word beginning with a vowel, nor does it avail to defend this hiatus by supposing that *ἐρίηρος* originally possessed an initial digamma. The supposition is not only at variance with other examples of this prefix *ἐρι-*, e.g. *ἐριαύχην* (K 305), *ἐρίβωλος* (Φ 232), *ἐρίγδουπος* (H 411), *ἐρικυδής* (Ω 802), *ἐρισθενής* (N 54), *ἐριστάφυλος* (ι 111), *ἐρίτιμος* (B 447), but meets contradiction in the usage of the adjective itself. We find Γ 378 *κόμισαν δ' ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι*, Π 363 *σάω δ' ἐρίηρας ἐταίρους*. Nor again is the doctrine of hiatus licitus a disturbing element here, although it is supposed to protect the example before *ἐμοί* in the two first quoted lines. It does not however form an essential part of my case to take exception to that at present.

On these grounds then, the hiatus after *ἐμοί* and the needless emphasis of that pronoun, I am disposed to question the genuineness of this expression and to regard it as a simplification of an older formula. Such a formula I find in the subscribed passages:—

- A 566 *μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμωσιν, ὅσοι θεοὶ εἰς' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ,*  
 E 877 *ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ πάντες, ὅσοι θεοὶ εἰς' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ,*  
 Θ 451 *οὐκ ἄν με τρέψειαν, ὅσοι θεοὶ εἰς' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ.*  
 Π 98 *μήτε τις οὖν Τρώων θάνατον φύγοι, ὅσσοι ἔασι.*

In many instances the substantive verb is unexpressed:—

- M 13 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μὲν Τρώων θάνον, ὅσσοι ἄριστοι,*  
 γ 108 *ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα κατέκταθεν, ὅσσοι ἄριστοι* Λ 691.  
 ζ 257 *πάντων Φαιήκων εἰδησέμεν ὅσσοι ἄριστοι.*  
 I 55 *οὐ τίς τοι τὸν μῦθον ὀνόσσεται, ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί,* 642.  
 θ 214 *πάντα γὰρ οὐ κακός εἰμι, μετ' ἀνδράσιν ὅσσοι ἀεθλοῖ.*  
 Φ 428 *τοιούτοι νῦν πάντες, ὅσοι Τρώεσσιν ἀρωγοί,*  
 Θ 205 *εἴ περ γὰρ κ' ἐθέλοιμεν, ὅσοι Δαναοῖσιν ἀρωγοί,*

More examples might be quoted, if necessary. There is one



however which shows this use of ὅσοι in combination with a vocative and so possesses a distinct feature of interest in this connection:—

β 209 Εὐρύμαχ' ἡδὲ καὶ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μνηστῆρες ἀγανοί,

But then it may be said, why should this familiar idiom have been preserved in the passages just quoted, while all trace of it seems to be lost in those at the head of this section? The question is a fair one, and the answer is easy. There is nothing in the idiom in any wise offensive or incomprehensible to the linguistic feeling of the later Greeks. It has perhaps a flavour of antiquity and is not of such common occurrence in classical Attic: yet we may find a practical exemplification of it in Aristoph. Wasps, l. 400:—

οὐ ξυλλήψεσθ', ὁπόσοισι δίκαι τῆτες μέλλουσιν ἔσσεσθαι;

But in the particular cases under discussion there happened to be a serious complication, indicated and revealed to us by the presence of the possessive pronoun, which, as has been remarked, is in four cases out of six not quite natural. The original expression contained, there is reason to believe, an elided unemphatic dative of the personal pronoun, ἐγώ, which gives a perfectly suitable sense in every case.

It was this unfortunate elision, this partial obliteration of μοι, unwelcome to the eyes, and unfamiliar to the ears, of the later Greeks, that led to the dropping of ὅσοι from these lines, which I would thus restore:—

μ 199 αἰψ' ἀπὸ κηρὸν ἔλουνθ', ὅσοι μ' ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι,

397 = ξ 249 ἐξῆμαρ μὲν ἔπειθ', ὅσοι μ' ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι,  
δαίνυνθ'.

ι 172 ἄλλοι μὲν νῦν μίμνεθ', ὅσοι μ' ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι.

Compare the combination of ἄλλοι with πάντες ξ 462, ο 307.

ι 555 ἀλλ' ὃ γε μερμήριζεν ὅπως ἀπολοίατο πᾶσαι  
νῆες εὖσσελμοι καὶ ὅσοι μ' ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι.

Here ὅσοι—ἑταῖροι forms a fitting balance to the preceding πᾶσαι νῆες.

Ψ 6 Μυρμίδονες ταχύπωλοι, ὅσοι μ' ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι,

which approximates along with  $\epsilon$  172 very closely to the above quoted  $\beta$  209.

It is well-known that this elision of  $\mu\omicron\iota$  ( $\tau\omicron\iota$ ,  $\sigma\omicron\iota$ ) has been only very partially preserved in our traditional text: that of *Foi* has disappeared altogether. Many restorations of each have been suggested, of which some may unhesitatingly be accepted as certain and irrefragable. Therefore in introducing it here I waive any general discussion of its admissibility, cf. Journ. Phil. xxv. 308 f. and xxvi. 113 f.

That the enclitic is far more suitable than the possessive pronoun to the passages as a whole is surely beyond all shadow of doubt. Let me recall:—

$\alpha$  336 οὐτ' ἐγὼ οὔτε τις ἄλλος ἑταίρων, οἳ μοι ἔασιν. Cf.  $\mu$  114. H 295 σοὺς τε μάλιστα ἔτας καὶ ἑταίρους, οἳ τοι ἔασιν.

As I have more than once had occasion to remark, the earliest writing in all probability did not remove elided letters. They appeared, as in Latin, written at length. Hence  $\delta\sigma\omicron\iota$   $\mu\omicron\iota$ , which seems too long for an iambus, as it appears visibly impossible to retain the whole, may have been considered most fairly and easily treated by substituting the convenient and apparently equivalent possessive  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ , with detriment to the metre of course; but that is of the nature of almost every modernisation that can be detected in the Homeric text.

I take it as a further slight point in favour of this correction that with it the elimination of the hiatus licitus in  $\mu$  199, 397,  $\xi$  249 becomes so easy a matter. I have not hesitated to remove it, but of course devotees may preserve it intact, if the loss would be in any degree painful to endure. The formula may also be applied to  $\tau$  273 ἀτὰρ ἐρίηρας ἑταίρους | ὤλεσε thus  $\delta\sigma\omicron\iota$   $\delta'$  ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι, | ὤλεσε. The lengthening of  $-αρ$  is not defensible.

After all I am quite conscious that to many the above emendation may seem too considerable a departure from the tradition; but this much may be said in defence. It is no haphazard re-writing from unfounded conjecture, but rests upon a careful examination of the ascertained usages of Homer. These usages have been here set forth for the consideration of



all, that of ὅσοι in almost full detail: only with regard to the elision of μοι is the case presented with undue brevity, as a full exposition would require at least as many pages as the whole of the present paper.

\*

μ 423 ἐπίτονος βέβλητο βοὸς ῥινοῖο τετευχώς.

In the use of τετευχώς as passive in sense and equivalent to τετυγμένος we have a grammatical solecism, which only, or perhaps not even, the direst necessity should induce us to accept and condone. Of course there is first of all the surgical remedy, the excision of a large passage as unworthy of Homer. The removal of a small one would be of no avail, is indeed quite impracticable. Kammer accordingly condemns 420—448. If however we acquiesce in the genuineness of the line, as is only reasonable, until we are convinced that it is part and parcel of a spurious addition, we are under some obligation to account in a fairly natural manner for any abnormal feature it exhibits. In any case if we can do this successfully, we remove one of the supports on which the adverse opinion rests. Van Herwerden has suggested as a possible original the ending:—

βοὸς ῥινοῦ νεοτευχές,

and again the line is quoted by Athenæus (xiv. 632) in this form:—

ἐπίτονος τετάνυστο βοὸς ἰφι κταμένοιο.

There is however one obvious objection against putting faith in either of these solutions. How could the vulgate possibly have arisen from any such originals? By what conceivable course of development or disintegration? It has also been suggested that τετευχώς should be referred to τυγχάνω, and not to τεύχω at all, a curiously lame evasion of the difficulty.

I am emboldened to present an idea which seems at any rate better fitted to account for the rise of the traditional text. My supposition is that originally the line stood thus:—

ἐπίτονος βέβληθ', ὃ βοὸς ῥινοῖο τέτυκτο.

It is not very far-fetched to assume that βέβληθ' ὃ or βέβλητο ὃ (written ἐκ πλήρους) might be taken for βέβλητο, especially as the later Greeks would not be over ready to recognise any form of the masculine relative pronoun save ὃς. Once let βέβλητο stand alone without ὃ, and the necessity of altering τέτυκτο becomes absolute. In this place the regular and frequently occurring τετυγμένος could not be accommodated. There was therefore no resource except crediting Homer with τετευχώς, of which, I venture to say, he was never guilty. No doubt the Homeric text, as we have received it, contains other absurdities equal in grossness to this particular specimen, and it is, I fear, considered scientific to let one corruption prop up another. The old saying, 'two blacks do not make one white', no longer holds good: for it seems quite legitimate to argue that, when two blacks are placed side by side, both become immaculate. I will make no further comment on the general futility of this proceeding, but will forestall the production of one concrete instance of an exactly similar misuse of a perf. part. act. If we turn to one of the later books of the Odyssey, we may read, I think in every text:—

ρ 519 αἰίδῃ δεδαώς ἔπε' ἱμερόεντα βροτοῖσι.

I may just note in passing that for αἰίδῃ some editors have the ill-supported variant, αἰίδει; but the special feature, to which I call attention here, is the participle δεδαώς usually very tenderly treated as a genuine Homeric vagary for δεδαημένος. It is assuredly nothing of the kind. It is a mere blunder. Let us restore the older form of the 3rd sing. subj., and give back to Homer the long-lost but true reading:—

αἰίδῃσι δαεῖς ἔπε' ἱμερόεντα βροτοῖσι.

There will then be no need to apologise for the grammar, and any one can appreciate the facility, with which C1ΔΑΕΙC might be misread into ΔΕΔΑΟC.

T. L. AGAR.

## ALBA LONGA.

It is a sign of the uncertainty which surrounds the earlier period of the existence of Rome that the site of Alba Longa, the oldest and most eminent city of the Latin league, whose meetings were held under its presidency, and the metropolis, according to tradition, of Rome itself, should still be a subject of discussion.

There is, fortunately, no room for doubt that Alba Longa actually existed. The Latin league, over which we find Rome presiding as its successor, the worships which continued to be carried on after its destruction<sup>1</sup> and which subsisted during the whole period of Roman history, the name which clung to the lake, the mountain, and the surrounding country, all bear testimony which cannot be shaken—even if we take no account of the unanimous tradition of the foundation of Alba, the colonization of Rome, and the destruction of the metropolis by the colony.

We may proceed, then, to examine the information given us by the ancient authors<sup>2</sup>. Alba Longa is naturally very frequently mentioned; and we are told<sup>3</sup> that it was named Longa from the shape of its ground-plan, so that we have to imagine it as consisting of one long street. The meaning of the name Alba is not so certain. Varro l.c. refers it to the white sow which Aeneas saw, others to the colour of the houses, or of the rocks on which the city stood (Gell, *Environs of Rome* p. 16). Precise local indications are, however, conspicuous by

<sup>1</sup> CIL. xiv p. 231, Cic. *Pro Mil.* xxxi § 85, Livy i 31.

<sup>2</sup> The passages are collected by Cluver, *Italia Antiqua* p. 900 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Livy i 3 "ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata," cf.

Varro L. L. v § 144, Dionys. i 66 etc.



their absence. Strabo v 3 § 2 p. 229 speaks of it as "Ἀλβα ἐν τῷ Ἀλβάνῳ ὄρει διέχοντι τῆς Ῥώμης τοσοῦτον ὅσον καὶ ἡ Ἀρδέα (i.e. 160 stadia: compare Statius, *Silvae* v 3, 38 "Latiis ingessit montibus Albam"); Livy, as "sub Albano monte"; but, as Holstenius (ad Cluverium p. 901 lin. ult.) points out, "Nulla prorsus inter auctores dissentio. Nam Livius intelligit totum illud montis iugum editissimum, quod vulgo Monte Cavo dicitur. Caeteri auctores intelligunt pedem seu tractum inferiorem montis, in cuius dorso porrecto Alba condita fuit."

The only author who gives more detailed information as to the site is Dionysius I 66, *ἡνίκα δ' ᾠκίζετο (ἡ Ἀλβα), πρὸς ὄρει καὶ λίμνῃ κατεσκευάσθη τὸ μέσον ἐπέχουσα ἀμφὸν, καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα δυσάλωτον αὐτὴν ποιοῦντα. τὸ τε γὰρ ὄρος ἐν τοῖς πάνυ ὀχυρόν τε καὶ ὑψηλὸν ἐστὶν ἢ τε λίμνη βαθεῖα καὶ μεγάλη...ὑπόκειται δὲ τῇ πόλει πεδία θαυμαστά ἰδεῖν.*

According to this passage the site of Alba Longa must be sought between the Alban mount (Monte Cavo) and the Alban lake: and here it has been placed by most topographers, at or near Palazzuolo. It will be seen however later that there are strong reasons against this identification: but it will be more convenient to examine first another theory.

#### (1) *Albano.*

The view that the modern Albano occupies the site of the ancient Alba Longa was almost universally held till the time of Cluver (1624). It makes its first appearance, as Cluver (p. 901 l. 47) points out, in Eutropius lib. I "Albanos vicit (Tullus Hostilius) qui ab urbe XII milliario sunt." Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* II 29, Sozomenus *Hist. Eccl.* III 8, name a certain Dionysius as ὁ Ἀλβας τῶν Ἰταλῶν μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος; but the reference is probably to Alba Pompeia in Liguria (Holstenius ad Cluverium p. 914 l. 34; Nibby, *Analisi* I 80). We find it held by the topographers of the 15th and 16th centuries, such as Flavio Biondo, *Italia Illustrata* p. 319 (in the Bâle edition of 1531) and Raphael Volaterranus p. 166: compare Cluver p. 901 l. 52. "Hodie ipsi Albani opidi (sic) incolae



aleo certe persuasum habent, ut etiam supra portam, quae Romam versus emittit, lapidem imponi curaverint, cui sus illa cum xxx porcellis incisa."

The view is however based upon the misinterpretation of various passages, many of which<sup>1</sup> refer to Alba Fucentia, while in the rest the name Alba is used loosely.

For example Plutarch, Iul. Caesar 60, says *καταβαίνοντα ἐξ Ἀλβης (Καίσαρα) εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι βασιλέα*. Suetonius however (Iul. 79) in relating the same incident shows that Caesar was returning from the celebration of the *feriae Latinae* upon the Alban mount. A similar lax use of the name Alba is to be found in Lucan I 198 "et residens celsa Latiaris Jupiter Alba"; Val. Flacc. Argon. II 304 "Iam nemus Egeriae, iam te ciet altus ab Alba Jupiter, et soli non mitis Aricia regi"; Tibullus I, 7, 57, "Nec taceant monumenta viae, quem Tuscula tellus candidaque antiquo detinet Alba lare".

Similarly Suet. Nero 25 "Neapolim albis equis introiit, disiecta parte muri; simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam," is not to be taken to mean that a city called Albanum and having walls existed at this time. There is in fact no doubt that after the destruction of Alba Longa by the Romans no city took its place until comparatively late times<sup>2</sup>. Livy, VII 39 §§ 8, 16; Appian, Bellum Civile I 69, both make it clear that there was no city upon the Via Appia between Aricia and Rome, with the exception of Bovillae, which was quite insignificant (cf. Cic. Planc. 9 § 23), until under the Empire it became important as the site of the *sacrarium gentis Iuliae*. Pliny, III 5 § 63, gives Alba Longa as one of the cities of ancient Latium, and (ib. § 69) mentions the Albani as one of the 53 peoples "qui interiere sine vestigiis."

<sup>1</sup> Livy xxx 17, 45 etc.

<sup>2</sup> The reference in the last passage is to a road constructed by Messala Corvinus, connecting the Via Appia with the Latina, Labicana and Praenestina, and which, under the name of Via Cavona, is still in use (Lanciani

Bull. Comm. 1884 p. 195).

<sup>3</sup> Orosius v 22 mentions the siege by the adherents of Sulla of 'Albanorum civitas,' but this is generally taken to refer to Alba Fucentia, of which the correct adjectival form is Albensis.

It was only in the time of Constantine that a city arose upon the site now occupied by Albano. During the last century of the Republic and the first three centuries of the Empire the name Albanum signified a villa in the Alban territory. The earliest record we have of such an estate is that of M. Junius Brutus (about 153 B.C.: Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 51 § 141, *De Or.* II 55 § 224): compare Porcius apud Suet. apud Hieronym. (ed. Teubner stereotyp. 1893 p. 292 l. 19) "*Dum se amari ab his credit...(P. Terentius Afer) crebro in Albanum rapitur ob florem aetatis suae.*"

In the later days of the Republic we hear of Pompey, Clodius, Curio and others as owners of villas in this district, and the name Albanum becomes stereotyped. Under the Empire all these villas passed into the imperial domain, and, with the new palace built by Domitian upon the edge of the Alban lake, formed a single estate (cf. *Bull. Inst.* 1853 p. 3, *Ann. Inst.* 1854 p. 98, *CIL.* vol. XIV p. 216). Müller, *Roms Kampagna* II 90, extends the villa of Domitian as far as Monte Gentile to the S. of Palazzuolo, between the lakes of Albano and Nemi, where remains of a villa exist (see *Martial* V 1, 1, "*Palladiae seu collibus uteris Albae, Caesar, et hinc Triviam prospicis, inde Thetin,*" where "*Triviam*" would refer to the lake of Nemi, the *speculum Dianae*). In any case, it is certain that the Alban lake was regarded as a part of the imperial estate, and Domitian constructed a road all round it, considerable remains of which may still be seen at the edge of the lake, with landing stages for boats at intervals.

Connected with the selection of the Alban villa as an imperial residence was the foundation of the camp at Albano. The first legion known to have been quartered there is the *legio II Parthica*, which was founded by Septimius Severus, and the necropolis of which was discovered in 1867 on the S.E. slope of the hill now occupied by the monastery of the Capucini (cf. *Ann. Inst.* 1867 p. 73; *CIL.* VI 3367 sqq., XIV p. 217; *Bull. Comm. Arch.* 1896 p. 121). The camp was, however, probably constructed before the *legio II Parthica* occupied it: for the imperial residence would in all probability



have been guarded by troops<sup>1</sup>, and we have two inscriptions CIL. XIV 2286, 2287 of equites singulares found at Albano, who were probably here on duty as part of the body guard. The style of construction of the enclosure wall of the camp, too, in opus quadratum of peperino, is hardly that of the time of Septimius Severus<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the extensive *thermae* existing on the S.W. side of the Via Appia belong probably to the time of Domitian (Nibby I 91; CIL. XIV 2306, 2311), and from their position seem to be connected rather with the camp than with the imperial villa—though the assertion of the inhabitants of Albano that a subterranean passage under the Via Appia connected the camp with the *thermae*, which Rosa was unable to verify, may not be of great value (Bull. Inst. 1853 p. 8). The camp is, however, not to be assigned to a period earlier than that of the Flavian emperors: see Tac. Hist. IV 2 "*civitas pavida et servitio parata occupari redeuntem Tarracina L. Vitellium cum cohortibus postulabat: praemissi Aricium equites. agmen legionum intra Bovillas stetit.*" Had the camp at Albano been in existence at this time, it would certainly have been made use of on this occasion.

It was upon the ruins of this camp that the present town of Albano arose. Coins of Maxentius were found with certain of the inscriptions of the legio II Parthica (Henzen, Bull. Inst. 1869 p. 134); and Constantine gave to the church of Albano "*omnia scheneca deserta vel domos intra urbem Albanensem*" (Anastas. vit. Pontif. c. 46), which has generally been taken to refer to the abandoned camp (Cluver p. 914; Nibby I, 80; De Rossi Bull. Arch. Chr. 1873 p. 102; Tomassetti, Campagna Romana vol. I p. 54). De Rossi (Bull. Arch. Chr. 1869 p. 77) actually assigns the inscription CIL. XIV 2254 to the time of Maxentius, which he considers to be indicated by the gentilicium Valerius and the mention of a single "*dominus noster*": Dessau, however (CIL. I. c.), considers the reasons insufficient. See also De Rossi, Bull. Inst. 1884 p. 84. We are thus enabled to date, within fairly narrow limits, the removal of the legio II Parthica from the camp at Albano, after which it ceased to

<sup>1</sup> Henzen Ann. Inst. 1867 p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Nibby I 71, 95.

contain a garrison, and the rise of the "*civitas Albanensis*," the present town of Albano.

(2) *Palazzuolo*.

Cluver, to whom is due the abandonment of the theory that Albano occupies the site of Alba Longa, adopted in its place, in conformity with Dionysius i 61, Palazzuolo, on the E. side of the lake of Albano (p. 902, l. 35). In this he was followed by Kircher (*vetus Latium* p. 33); Volpi (*vetus Latium Profanum* Tom. vii, lib. xii, cap. i p. 7); Eschinardi (ed. Venuti 1750 pp. 286, 287)—who rejects Kircher's extension of it as far as Castel Gandolfo, as based on remains of a later period—; Fabretti (*de Aquis* ed. 1788 plan opp. p. 90); Piranesi (*Antichità di Albano*, *Emissario* tav. 1 fig. 1); Riccy (*Alba Longa* p. 20); Westphal (*Römische Kampagne* p. 31); Abeken (*Mittelitalien* p. 65); Schwegler (*Röm. Gesch.* i 340); Müller (*Roms Kampagna* ii 134); Giorni (*Storia di Albano* p. 12); Bormann (*Altlateinische Chorographie* p. 144); Guidi (*Paesi dei Colli Albani* p. 41); Mommsen (*History of Rome* i 48) etc.

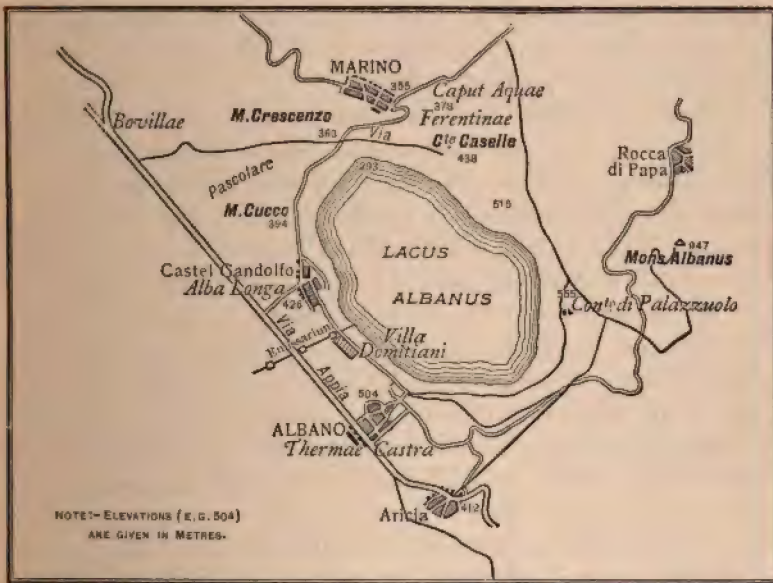
The main argument which is employed in favour of this site, besides the statement of Dionysius, is the existence of an escarpment of the rock some 20 or 30 feet high, immediately behind the plateau on which the monastery of Palazzuolo stands. It is to be noticed, however, that this cutting of the rock is almost too finely executed to be the work of a period so remote. Similarly, the caves just to the S. of the monastery, which are pointed to as the quarries from which the materials of Alba Longa were taken, and which were then used as water cisterns, then as prisons, in the Middle Ages as *nymphaea*, and now once more as quarries (Müller l. c.; Nibby *Analisi* i 76), are not a certain indication of the site.

But it is more important to remark, that, while the escarpment of the rock is very prominent upon the lake side—the side, that is, from which an attack, owing to the natural steepness of the sides of the crater, would be almost impossible—the N. and S. ends of this supposed Alba Longa, which, being on comparatively level ground, would require considerable de-



fences, show no signs, either of any cutting in the rock, or of earthworks, or of walls.

One is almost tempted to think that those who have adopted Palazzuolo as the site of Alba Longa have contented themselves with observing the sheer face of the escarpment from the monastery, without troubling to search for traces of fortification on the sides away from the lake, where fortification would have been needed. Investigation would then have shown them that no such defences exist, and that, instead, a network of ancient roads traverses the space between the lake and the mountain; which space is of considerable extent, and slopes gently up towards the roots of Monte Cavo. Anything more unlike a city "*ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata*" (Livy i 3 § 3) can hardly be imagined.



It is not so easy to pronounce judgment as to the real object of the escarpment behind the monastery of Palazzuolo. Aeneas Silvius (comment. ed. 1614 p. 308, cited by Tomassetti, Bull. Comm. Arch. 1894 p. 6) says "*saxum excisum est ad*

*tantum spatium quantum monasterio necesse fuit et horto*": but the cutting cannot be put down as altogether of mediaeval date (though it may have been extended) owing to the existence of an ancient road cut in the rock at the N. end of the monastery garden, at the side of which is a rock-cut tomb upon which are sculptured in relief the fasces, the sella curulis, the apex and the scipio, almost certainly therefore that of Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus, the only known instance of a man, who, being both pontifex and consul, died during his consulship (B.C. 176). (See Livy *XLI* 16; Riccy, *Mausoleo Consolare nel Monte Albano* ch. v; Nibby *Analisi*, i 74.)

Further, a concession by Urban VIII in 1629 to Cardinal Girolamo Colonna of a site for a villa mentions as included in it certain ancient ruins and grottos (Riccy, *op. cit.* p. 8), and Casimiro (*Delle chiese e conventi de' frati minori della provincia Romana* c. 18 p. 228) states that the garden of the monastery lies upon the large vaults, divided into many chambers, of an ancient building.

Here was believed by Holstenius (*Annotat. in Cluver.* p. 908) to be ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβάνῳ οἰκία, ἐς ἣν οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καταλύουσιν (*Dio Cass. LIV* 29), which Riccy (*l.c.*) connects with these ruins, and from which he derives the name Palazzuolo. Bormann (*Altlat. Chor.* p. 148) follows Holstenius in attributing the tomb of Cornelius Hispalus to this ἐν τῷ Ἀλβάνῳ οἰκία.

Nibby, however (i 71), inclines, rightly, to trace the origin of the name to an imperial villa which existed upon this site from the time of Augustus, as is shown by a sepulchral inscription (*CIL. XIV* 2259) erected to a certain "Aesopus Caesaris Augusti dispensator," which was found here (see De Rossi, *Ann. Inst.* 1873 p. 178). A brick-stamp dating from the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century is also recorded as having been discovered at Palazzuolo (*CIL. XIV* 4091, 51, i = xv 2336, 2). A small fragment of opus reticulatum is still visible in one of the walls of the monastery on the N. side of the church.

It is not impossible that the comparatively small cutting required by the road was enlarged to afford space for the imperial villa, and, perhaps, still farther enlarged in the Middle



Ages: but an examination of the site will clearly show that it can have nothing to do with the fortifications of a city. Even if the road can be supposed to have existed in very early times, the cutting is far more extensive than would have been required to command it; besides, a little way to the north of the tomb another road branches eastwards, ascending by an easy slope to the plateau above Palazzuolo, without any indication that it is entering the precincts of a fortified city.

### (3) *Coste Caselle.*

The hill designated by this name in the military map (Carta d' Italia, foglio 150 1: 25,000, Frascati) was the site selected by Gell for the city of Alba Longa (Topography of Rome and its vicinity p. 16 sqq.). The chief indications on which he relied were (a) a road ascending from the Via Appia, crossing the modern road at a chapel between Castel Gandolfo and Marino, and thence skirting the lake until it arrived at this site, where it stopped; (b) actual remains of the walls of the city; (c) the site itself.

He was followed by Nibby, *Analisi* I 62 sqq.; Giorni, *Storia di Albano* p. 12 (both of whom however include Palazzuolo within the limits of Alba Longa), and by Preller (*Zeitschr. f. Alterthumswissenschaft* 1845 März p. 220) who remarks "Ref. hat die Untersuchung Gell's an Ort und Stelle genau verfolgt, und dabei die meisten der von ihm angeführten Merkmale nicht wiedergefunden, wohl aber an dem San Marino gegenüber gelegenen, jetzt meist mit Waldung und Weinbergen bedeckten Abhänge eine in dem Felsen ausgehauene alte Strasse, welche ihm für die Gellsche Bestimmung vollends entscheidend schien."

The real value of the argument as to the road is however doubtful. Nibby, who has, it is clear, at p. 62, merely reproduced the account of Gell, speaks of the road (on p. 114) as a part of the Via Triumphalis, leaving the Via Appia at Bovillae, and ascending to the summit of the Alban mount; and this is probably the truth, though, owing to the changes produced by cultivation, the road cannot be traced with cer-



tainty beyond Pentima Corvina. Bormann p. 146 rightly remarks "Ebenso halten es wir für eine Hyper-akribie, wenn Gell die Strasse, die nach der alten Alba führten, zu finden glaubte; er übersah, dass diese nicht altrömische Kunststrassen, die Jahrtausenden trotzen, gewesen sein können, sondern vermuthlich ungepflasterte Wege."

As to the actual traces of walls, those who seek for them will be doomed, like Preller, to disappointment. In company with Prof. Lanciani I made a careful investigation of the ground, and could find no blocks of stone answering to Gell's description, and no pottery of any sort.

In fact a search for such relics would be hopeless unless the stratum of peperino which has buried the Alban necropolis were removed by excavation or by the wear and tear of time (M. S. De Rossi Bull. Inst. 1869, p. 52).

Finally, the site itself, though stronger than Palazzuolo, is not remarkably adapted for a city—it is almost unprotected towards the E. and SE., though its neighbourhood to the caput aquae Ferentinae is an argument in its favour.

It may be mentioned that Prof. M. S. De Rossi too was at one time inclined to place the site of Alba Longa upon this ridge above the caput aquae Ferentinae, though his reasons for doing so were not those of Gell. In his *Secondo Rapporto sugli studi e scoperte paleoetnologiche* p. 31 he says "I have seen with my own eyes the exact sites of the discoveries, which give the station of the caput aquae Ferentinae the extension of a large city"; and ib. 35 he connects the fact that at this point the ground showed considerable traces of the action of a stream, while the pottery was in some cases found off its balance, which seemed to him to point to an inundation, with the above-mentioned legend of the destruction of the house of Allodius<sup>1</sup>, which he transfers from the Alban lake to the lake which once occupied the valley of the caput aquae Ferentinae. In the map annexed to *Le Fratture vulcaniche Laziali* (Estratto dagli Atti Acc. Pontif. Anno XXVI, Sess. IIIa del 19

<sup>1</sup> The legend of the fall of the palace of Allodius into the lake (Dionys. i 71 § 3), of which Gell makes some use, has naturally no historical or topographical value whatsoever.

Genn. 1873) he marks Alba Longa as occupying this site. His views however are advanced with considerable reserve (cf. Ann. Inst. 1867 p. 44, 1871 pp. 259, 260), and are rendered additionally uncertain by his acceptance of the reported discovery of an aes grave in the later strata of peperino (Ann. Inst. 1871, p. 273).

(4) *Castel Gandolfo.*

The only other view which remains to be examined is that of Holstenius, who, commenting on Cluver p. 902 lin. 35, proposes to place Alba Longa "ad meridionalem (lacus ripam) in longo illo dorso, quod supra Castellum Gandolfi porrigitur: in quo postea Domitiani villa maxima fuit." This identification is adopted by Tomassetti (*Campagna Romana nel Medio Evo* vol. I, p. 587). "The fact that Castel Gandolfo was inhabited in the Middle Ages, which is clear from the documents cited by Cancellieri (*Lettera sopra il Tarantismo* pp. 99—101), confirms my conviction that it occupies the site of the acropolis of Alba Longa, as the plateau of the Pascolare below it was occupied by the necropolis of the city."

(a) The vicinity of the most important part of the Alban necropolis, in which remains of archaic pottery are still found in profusion whenever the superstratum of peperino is removed (I found many such fragments between Monte Cucco and Monte Crescenzo on the W. of the road to Marino 26/1/98), to Castel Gandolfo is indeed the main argument in its favour.

Henzen (*Bull. Inst.* 1853 p. 9) remarks that the tombs and shrines of Alba Longa could hardly be supposed to have been at a great distance from the city, which he no doubt thought to have been at Palazzuolo, and, therefore, places them upon the road running from the Via Appia, which it left slightly above Bovillae, across the Pascolare, between Monte Crescenzo and Monte Cucco, and thence along the N. rim of the lake crater<sup>1</sup>. This was the opinion of Rosa, but Pigorini, who examined the site with him in 1867 (see *La Paleoetnologia in Roma*, *Relazione* di L. Pigorini, 1867, p. 26), rejects the idea of any connexion

<sup>1</sup> See p. 45 supra.



between the tombs and the road, owing to the difference of level and the distance which separated them. This being so, Henzen's argument may be used in support of the present theory.

(b) But other arguments may be adduced, which, if indirect, are none the less important. A careful examination of the account of the murder of Clodius in Cicero's *Pro Milone* shows (a) that the villa of Clodius stood on rising ground above the Via Appia, though close to it (x § 29, xix § 51, xx § 53) and near Bovillae (Ascon. in *Milon.* vol. III, p. 275 Teubner ed.; Cic. ad Att. v 13 § 1), i.e. close to the 13th mile (Nibby, *Analisi* i 89; Canina *Ann. Inst.* 1854 p. 97); (b) that the villa had been constructed on the site and at the expense of the shrines and sacred groves of Alba Longa which had been preserved when the city was destroyed (Dionys. iii 29 § 5; Livy i 29 § 6; Juvenal Sat. iv 60), cf. Cic. *Pro Mil.* xxxi § 85 "vos enim iam, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque obtestor, vosque Albanorum obrutae arae sacrorum populi Romani sociae et aequales, quas ille praeceps amentia caesis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat; vestrae tum irae, vestrae religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat; tuque ex tuo edito monte, Latiaris sancte Juppiter, cuius ille lacus, nemora finesque saepe omni nefario stupro et scelere macularat." It is perhaps worth mentioning that there seems to be a distinction drawn between the shrines of Alba and the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the mountain, which may point to a considerable local separation between the two. In any case the evidence of the passage in favour of Castel Gandolfo is important.

(c) Further indications are to be found in the use of the adjective *Albanus*.

The name *Albanum*, which in the last century of the Republic came into frequent use as a designation of the villas between the 13th and 15th miles of the Via Appia, would hardly have been appropriate to them, standing as they did out of view of the lake, had Alba Longa not been at Castel Gandolfo—we should in that case expect to find the name



Aricinum or Bovillanum instead (supra p. 39). There is, further, far more point in the invidious designation of Domitian's villa as *Arx Albana*<sup>1</sup> (Dio Cass. LXVII 1; Juvenal IV 145; Tac. Agricola 45) if we suppose that its remains, still existing in the Villa Barberini at Castel Gandolfo, occupy the very site of Alba Longa, as Holstenius thought.

Again, the name Albani Longani Bovillenses, which is that invariably used in inscriptions of the municipium of Bovillae (CIL. VI 1851, XIV 2405, 2406, 2409, 2411), indicates a peculiar closeness of connexion between Bovillae and Alba Longa, not shared by the other cities of Latium which also derived their origin from the same metropolis. It is possible too that the priesthoods of Bovillae had the title of Albani: in CIL. XIV 2410 is also mentioned a *virgo* (*vestalis*) *Albana maxima*, whose brother had directed the *comitia* at Bovillae, the inscription having been erected by the *decuriones* or *Augustales* of Bovillae in honour of them both: and from Asconius in Milon. (vol. III, p. 279 ed Teubner) "*virgines quoque Albanae dixerunt mulierem ignotam venisse ad se, quae Milonis mandatu votum solveret, quod Clodius occisus esset*," we may infer that the *virgines vestales Albanae* resided at or near Bovillae. Whether they were priestesses of Bovillae or of Rome is doubtful. CIL. VI 2172 (found in Rome) mentions a *virgo vestalis arcis Albanae*, and the *pontifices* and *salii Albani* seem to have been Roman priesthoods. (See Dessau CIL. XIV, p. 231.)

<sup>1</sup> This "*Arx Albana*" must, it is hardly necessary to say, be entirely separated from the *Arx Albana* mentioned by Livy VII 24, where he relates that the Gauls in 350 B.C. after their defeat by Popilius Laenas, "*quod editissimum inter aequales tumultus occurrebat oculis, arcem Albanam petunt*." This may be the same as the *arx Albana* referred to in CIL. VI 2172, XIV 2410 (cf. CIL. XIV p. 216 note 4, p. 231 note 4). As to its site there is great difference of opinion. Some refer it to the citadel of Alba Longa itself, which Bormann, *Altlat.*

*Chor.* p. 146, Schwegler R. G. I 340. Abeken, *Mittelitalien* 65, all place to the S. of Palazzuolo, Holstenius ad Cluv. 908 l. 2 at Castel Gandolfo: others to the Mons Albanus (Cluver 908 l. 2) which is unlikely: or to Rocca di Papa (Riccio p. 81, Müller II, 137, Nibby III, 20, Tomassetti, *Via Latina* 269), which Nibby and Tomassetti consider to have been at the same time the *arx* of Fabia or Cabum (II. cc. cf. Bull. Inst. 1861, 206, 1870, 136, 1885, 186, Ann. Inst. 1873, 169, CIL. VI 2173-2175).

(d) It may, further, be noted that Dionysius i 66 § 3 (*ὑπόκειται δὲ τῇ πόλει πεδία θαυμαστὰ μὲν ἰδεῖν, πλούσια δὲ καὶ οἶνους καὶ καρποὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν κτλ.*) seems to apply better to Castel Gandolfo, which immediately overlooks the plain of the Campagna, than to either of the sites on the E. of the lake.

(e) Finally, Castel Gandolfo is a site eminently easy of defence: the rim of the crater is here extremely narrow, and the slope both to the lake and the plain is steep. The imperial villa has doubtless removed any traces of escarpment of the rock or of other fortifications.

The only obstacle to the identification here proposed is the passage of Dionysius (i 66) already quoted, according to which the site of Alba Longa must be sought on the E. side of the lake.

This single passage, however, seems hardly sufficient to outweigh the evidence—none the less strong because indirect—in favour of Castel Gandolfo, especially if the uncritical character of Dionysius' work be considered.

It may be objected that, after all, no attempt can be made with any prospect of success to identify the site of Alba Longa, since the configuration of the ground has been entirely altered by the activity of the Alban volcano. It is, however, a fair answer to this objection, that the bed of peperino, which covers the layer of ashes in which the so-called "hut urns" were found, is only three feet thick, with a layer of soil 14 inches thick above it (Lanciani, *Ancient Rome* p. 28)—an amount entirely insufficient to change the whole character of the locality to any material extent—especially when we recollect that modern Rome lies at the least 10 feet—often far more—above the level of the ancient city. Our search then for Alba Longa cannot fairly be said to have been futile on this score: and the arguments brought forward seem at any rate to point with a fair measure of probability to Castel Gandolfo as the site. The appearance of the modern village, which, with its single long street of white houses, recalls irresistibly the ancient name, is, if nothing more, singularly suggestive.

THOMAS ASHEY.



## COLOURS IN GREEK.

### ΧΑΘΟΣ.

I. THE adjective *ξανθός* occurs 42 times in the Iliad and Odyssey. Most often (31 times) it is an epithet of Menelaos, the combination ξ. M. ending the line in the nominative (27) dative (3) or accusative (1). Further the word is five times found, in the same position in the line, followed by proper names of the same metrical form (— —) as Menelaos, viz. Rhadamanthus (nom. and acc.) Demeter and Agamede (*ξανθήν* 'A.). In one of these 36 passages the word is limited by *κάρη* (κ. ξ. *Μενέλαος*, ο. 133<sup>1</sup>), but they all belong to one type. Then the word is twice used of the hair of Achilles (A. 197, Ψ. 141) and twice of that of Odysseus (ν. 399 = 431). Lastly the word is twice used of horses (I. 407 and A. 680).

In the Iliad we also find *Ξάνθος* (1) as the name of a man killed on the Trojan side E. 152, (2) as the divine name of the Skamandros river, and as the name of the Lycian river, and (3) as the name of a horse of Achilles. Hector's horse Xanthos is only mentioned in Θ. 185, a line that is generally condemned.

If we examine the few passages in which the word is not combined with a proper name—they are six, or rather only five in all (ν. 431 being merely ν. 399 changed from first to third person)—we are met with two, or, as I think, three serious difficulties.

<sup>1</sup> In such a line as this—

ο. 133 τοὺς δ' ἤγε πρὸς δῶμα ||

*κάρη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος*—βοῶν ἀγαθὸς is the regular epithet of Menelaos. Perhaps

*κάρη* has displaced *ἐόν*. Cf. β. 247 *κατὰ δῶμα ἐόν* in this part of the line: for the absence of emphasis on *ἐόν* cf. *ἐὸς δόμος* in δ. 618.



(1) Athene gave Odysseus, when she changed him for the better in Phaeacia, *οὔλας κόμας* (ζ. 231). When she reverses this change in Ithaca, she says

ν. 399 *ξανθὰς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς ὀλέσω τρίχας*  
(cf. *ib.* 431).

Accordingly Athene had given him 'yellow hair' in Phaeacia. Yet when she next made him beautiful,

π. 176 *κυάνεαι δ' ἐγένοντο γενειάδες ἀμφὶ γένειον.*

(2) Further in the quite general lines of the *Iliad*

I. 406 *ληιστοὶ μὲν γάρ τε βόες καὶ ἵφια μῆλα*  
*κτητοὶ δὲ τρίποδες τε καὶ ἵππων ξανθὰ κάρηνα*

the limited expression ζ. *ξανθὰ κ.* appears in odd contrast with *ἵφια μῆλα*.

(3) Again we may surely call un-Homeric the casual introduction of natural colour (as distinct from light and shade: cf. Gladstone, *Studies in Homer*, III. pp. 457—499) in these six passages, in those already quoted, as well as in the remaining three, in

Λ. 680 *ἵππους δὲ ξανθὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα*<sup>1</sup>,  
and, yet more, in

A. 197 *ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλείωνα*,  
and Ψ. 141 (Achilles) *ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην*.

The epics show little appreciation of natural colour. Of what colour did the poet imagine Helen's eyes? or her hair? With Homer she is *ἡύκομος, καλλίκομος*: Euripides speaks of her *βοστρύχους ξανθῆς κόμης*, *Hel.* 1224. Apollo the golden-haired is merely *ἀκερσεκόμης* T. 39. The hair of Paris (*κέραι ἀγλαέ* Λ. 385, cf. Γ. 55) and of Euphorbos (*κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι* P. 51) was deserving of special notice, but nothing is said of colour. Similarly colour is absent from the simile of the *στατὸς ἵππος*, though we are told

Z. 509 *ὕψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται*  
*ὤμοις αἰσσονται.*

<sup>1</sup> Did this suggest *δύο μὲν ξανθῶν | ἵππων ἀγέλας*, Anaxandrides *apud* Athen. 131 c?

As parallels to the black hair of Odysseus in π. 176 we can refer to Poseidon *κυανοχαίτης*, to the eyebrows *κύνεαι* of Zeus and Here A. 528 = P. 209, O. 102, and to the *χαῖται κύνεαι* X. 402 of Hector. In the last case the context seems to make clear that the dark black hair is mentioned as something beautiful, to heighten our sorrow for Hector's treatment by Achilles:

X. 401 τοῦ δ' ἦν ἐλκομένοιο κονίσσαλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται  
κύνεαι πίτναντο, κάρη δ' ἅπαν ἐν κονίησι  
κεῖτο πάρος χαρίεν.

But in none of the 40 passages in which *ξανθός* is used of men or gods is there any indication that the poet has any special reason for breaking his rule of neglecting natural colour. Similarly, with the casual mention of ἵππων *ξανθὰ κάρηνα* contrast the terms of admiration

K. 436 τοῦ δὴ καλλίστους ἵππους ἶδον ἥδὲ μεγίστους·  
λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι.

II. All these difficulties would vanish, and no fresh difficulties would be introduced, if *ξανθός* were taken to be, not a word of colour, but the equivalent of *κάρη κομόωντες*, *εὐπλόκαμος*, etc., and *καλλίθριξ* (*καλλίτριχες ἵπποι* 14 times). I therefore propose to derive it from the same root as Lithuanian *kasà* a plait, Slavonic *kosà* hair, *cesati* to comb, with which Prellwitz *Et. Wb. d. gr. Spr.* connects *ξέω*. On this theory *ξανθός* properly denotes long, thick, 'combable' hair. As a standing epithet it denotes (like *κρατερός* or *πόδας ὠκύς*) the possession of a common desirable attribute in an uncommon degree, the hair being the common ornament of the Achaeans. It was perhaps an indication of bodily strength as well as beautiful in itself, and is well assigned to Menelaos<sup>1</sup> who is, perhaps, the most perfect example of Achaean chivalry: contrast the metrically equivalent combination *κρατερός Διομήδης*. The *ξανθὴ χαίτη* Ψ. 141 was a curl,

Ψ. 142 τήν ῥα Σπερχειῶ ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεθώσαν,

<sup>1</sup> Menelaos is represented with long curls on the archaic monument shown in Helbig, *das homerische Epos*<sup>2</sup>, p. 217.

Cf. 'the seven locks' of Samson, *Judges* xvi. 19.



and it is quite natural that Athene, to attract Achilles' attention, should take hold of a long curl (ξανθῆς κόμης ἔλε, A. 197)<sup>1</sup>. ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ reappears as εὐπλόκαμος ε. 125: the former epithet does not seem to be suggested by the colour of ripe corn, the verse-ending ξ. Δ. (- - - -) being merely an imitation of the common ending ξανθὸς Μενέλαος (- - - -).

Long hair is a natural result of Odysseus' transformation in Od. vi. It seems not unlikely that ξανθάς was used in Od. xiii. instead of οὔλας (οὔλας ἦκε κόμας ζ. 231) simply in order to avoid the combination οὔλας...όλέσω. οὔλος seems to be for φολνο-s, Brugmann *Grundriss* 1<sup>2</sup>. p. 475: f was lost comparatively early before o (cf. Monro *H. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 372 and Brugmann *Grundriss*<sup>3</sup> I. p. 306), and, ουλ being from ολς, there is no true diphthong, but ὤ. Jordan *J. f. Phil.* 1876, p. 166 conjectured that the name Aithon assumed τ. 183 by Odysseus might refer to "das rōthlich blonde Haar." But the meaning of αἶθων is itself obscure: it is sufficient to note here that Θ. 185, on which Göbel specially relied as proving the meaning 'fulvus' (see Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang σ.* 372), is spurious<sup>2</sup>.

'Long-hair' seems as suitable as 'Fair-hair' to be the name of a man (E. 152 Xanthos and Thoon, 'Long-hair' and 'Swift,' sons of Phainops, 'Brightface') or of rivers. Most people would probably find an effect, not a cause, of the name Xanthos in the story of Aristotle 519<sup>a</sup> 18 δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Σκάμανδρος ποταμὸς ξανθὰ τὰ πρόβατα ποιεῖν διὸ καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρὸν φασιν ἀντὶ Σκαμάνδρου Ξάνθον προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν<sup>3</sup>. Again, as the name of the Lycian river Xanthos cannot be the translation of any Indo-European or Semitic word meaning 'sandy,' 'yellow' (see Pape-Benseler *Gr. Eigennamen*, or Ebeling *Lex. Hom.*), if the Lycians were distinct from both Indo-Europeans and Semitics, as Kretschmer maintains (*Einleitung in die Geschichte der gr. Sprache* c. x.).

As to Xanthos and Balios (καλλίτριχε ἵππω P. 504), we

<sup>1</sup> Πύρρος son of Achilles is of course not Homeric.

<sup>2</sup> The name Κομαιθώ is not Homeric.

<sup>3</sup> 'Der Nebennamen des Skaman-

dros, Xanthos, scheint...erst mit den Lykiern in die Troas eingeschmuggelt' Kretschmer *Einleitung*, p. 189.



hear of their θαλερὴ χαίτη P. 439, cf. Ψ. 281—2, and of Xanthos in particular we read, how he bowed his head,

T. 405

πάντα δὲ χαίτη

ζεύγλης ἐξεριποῦσα παρὰ ζυγὸν οὐδας ἵκανε.

But does not 'Bayard' correspond better with 'Pie-bald' (cf. L. S.) Βαλίος? To this I reply that the meaning of βαλίος is uncertain, and that the interpretation 'spotted' may have been suggested by a word that must really be quite distinct from Homeric Βαλίος, viz. φαλίος (τὸ φαλὶὸν καὶ τὸ βαλὶὸν λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐχόντων τι λευκὸν ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ Schol. Theocr. viii. 27, Ahrens *Buc. Gr. Rell.* ii. 290). Liddell and Scott give 'spotted' 'dappled' as the meaning in Euripides, but 'swift' for Oppian: cf. Βαλίος πόδας αἰνετός a hound, Bergk<sup>4</sup> *fr.* αἰ. 39, 5 (MSS. βάνος πόδας ἀνετός), a fragment which may be derived from Stesichoros. The scholion (Dindorf iv., II. 149) on the names Xanthos and Balios runs τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χροιάς ὀνομάζει τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πηδᾶν—as the note now stands, the last words cannot refer to Pedasos. Eustathius (1051, 17) recognises the two meanings ταχύς and στικτός. Both meanings may be merely conjectural. In the sense of 'swift' or 'strong' I should connect the word not with βάλλω, the Homeric use of which lends little support to such a derivation, but rather with Sk. *bála*, 'strength,' Lat. *de-bilis* and perhaps βέλτερον, on which words see Brugmann *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup> i. p. 507. The modern Hindi *bail* 'ox' is from this root according to Platts, *Hind. Dict.* s. v.

So far then as concerns the Homeric poems the derivation and meaning proposed is satisfactory.

III. The development of meaning whereby ξανθός 'long,' 'luxuriant' as an epithet of hair, came to denote fair hair and then fair light-coloured things in general, so that Xenophanes speaks of ἄρτοι ξανθοί i 9 B<sup>4</sup>, may be regarded as the combined effect of two post-Homeric changes of fashion. One of these is a distinct admiration for fair hair, shown by the occurrence from Hesiod onwards of such expressions as 'golden-haired.' We find no such phrases in Homer. The 'golden-hair' of the horses of Zeus χρυσεῆσιν ἐθείρησιν κομόωντε Θ. 42 is to be

understood literally, like their brazen hoofs (*χαλκόποδ' ἵππων*): cf. the *χρύσεος λόφος* made for Achilles by Hephaistos Σ. 612. The metal is chosen for its brilliance. But such words as *χρυσοκόμης* (Hes. *Theog.* 947 *χρ. δὲ Διώνυσος ξανθὴν Ἀριάδην*) or *χρυσοπλόκαμος* (used of Leto *H. Ap.* 205—in Homer she is simply *ἡύκομος*) do not occur at all. Apollo indeed continued to be painted with black hair down to the time of Ion if the passage given by Athenæus is genuine, the form *ἡμείφθη* in it being due to the compiler. Sophocles is represented as saying (604 B) οὐδ' ὁ ποιητῆς [*σοι ἀρέσκει*] <ὁ> λέγων *χρυσοκόμαν Ἀπόλλωνα* (Pind. *Ol.* vi. 41). *χρυσέας γὰρ εἰ ἐποίησεν ὁ ζωγράφος τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κόμας καὶ μὴ μελαίνας, χεῖρον ἂν ἦν τὸ ζωγράφημα.*

The other change was that grown men ceased to wear their hair long and curled. Archilochus expresses his contempt for that fashion.

Fr. 58 Bergk<sup>4</sup> οὐ φιλέω μέγαν στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ διαπεπλιγμένον  
οὐδὲ βοστρύχοισι γαῦρον κτλ.

Xenophanes even speaks as though the Homeric fashions of carefully dressed hair and purple shawls were distinctly Lydian, when he says of the men of Colophon

Fr. 3 Bergk<sup>4</sup>

*ἀβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν*  
.....  
*ἦισαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες*  
.....  
*αὐχαλέοι, χαίτησιν ἀγαλλόμενοι εὐπρεπέεσσιν*  
*ἀσκητοῖς ὁδμὴν χρίμασι δυνόμενοι.*

The effect of this change was the general disappearance of long black hair. For the hair of children and young men was comparatively light. Even Homer notices the brightness of the child's hair

Z. 401 Ἑκτορίδην ἀγαπητὸν ἀλῖγκιον ἀστέρι καλῶ<sup>1</sup>,  
and Aristotle tells us 797 b 24 τῶν παιδίων ἀπάντων αἱ

<sup>1</sup> Compare and contrast Hogarth p. 69 the 'golden-haired babies' of the  
*A Wandering Scholar in the Levant*, Anatolian Turk.



κεφαλαὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γίνονται πυρραῖ...ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ...  
τὸ γένειον ὅταν ἄρχωνται τὸ πρῶτον...γενεῖαν. But the women,  
who, like the children and the youths, wore their hair long,  
believed that Eros

Eur. *Dan.* φιλεῖ κάτοπτρα καὶ κόμης ξανθίσματα.

Consequently long hair was very often fair hair, or at least those who had long hair desired it should be also regarded as fair. The two attributes long and fair became associated, and ξανθός, properly a term of admiration for long hair, came to denote long fair hair. Compare the word *fair*. It is connected with *πηγός*, and in the earliest English means beautiful to the eye, but it has acquired the meaning, when used of complexion or hair, of light as opposed to dark. The further development of ξανθός into a word of colour is not difficult.

IV. The state of things in Euripides, who uses ξανθός fairly often (25 times according to Beck's Index), seems to bear out this account. The word is always used of hair, unless we read *θριγκώματα*, *I. T.* 73. Further, the word is frequently (12 times) used in connection with such words as *βόστρυχος* *Cycl.* 499, *Or.* 1532, *Bac.* 235, *Hel.* 1224, *πλόκαμος* *El.* 1071, *I. A.* 758, *πλόκος* *H. F.* 233 and *χαίτη* *El.* 515, *I. T.* 173, *Tr.* 227, *Cycl.* 75, *Hipp.* 220, i.e. fair hair is usually long hair. Further those who have this fair hair are generally young. Those who have it are Harmonia *Med.* 832 and Cassandra *I. A.* 758, Clytaimnestra *El.* 1071, Glauce *Med.* 980, Helen *Hel.* 1224, Iphigeneia *I. A.* 681, 1366, *I. T.* 173 and Phaedra *Hipp.* 134, 220. Then we have the child of Heracles *H. F.* 993 and the children of Medeia *Med.* 1141. Of deities we have only Dionysos *Bac.* 235, *Cycl.* 75; and of men, Menelaos *Or.* 1532, *I. A.* 175, Lycos *H. F.* 233, Heracles *H. F.* 362, Hippolytos *Hipp.* 1345, Orestes *El.* 515, cf. *I. T.* 52 and Parthenopaios *Ph.* 1159. Dionysos was generally represented as youthful. On Lycos Wilamowitz (*H. F.* 233) remarks 'the beautiful fair hair of Lycos is emphasized, because he is young and strong, in order to contrast with his cowardice.' The fair hair of Heracles is mentioned in connection with his first labour. Orestes was certainly young when he killed his mother, and



also, presumably, at the date of the *I. T.* Hippolytos was of course young, and we may suppose the same of Parthenopaios. Menelaos is ξανθός in Euripides because he is in Homer: the contempt felt by the later Greeks for long fair hair on a man of his age (cf. Eur. *Or.* 1532) must have helped the post-Homeric degradation of his character. We get the combination of youth with fair βόστρυχοι or χαίτη or πλόκοι in the case of Dionysos, Lykos and Orestes (cf. *Or.* 387). So probably ξανθοκομῶν Δαναῶν, Pindar *N.* ix. 17 = 40, means "the youthful chivalry of Hellas," and ξανθοκόμας Πτολεμαῖος Theocr. xvii. 103 flatters Ptolemy on his youth: he was 24 at his accession<sup>1</sup>. Setting aside the case of Menelaos in which the classical writers were influenced by Homer, we should have no little difficulty to find an example in post-Homeric times to support Ameis-Hentze's note on the ξανθαὶ τρίχες of Odysseus *v.* 399, "die blonden, weil Odysseus dem epischen Sänger noch als schöner und kräftiger Held erscheint." Odysseus was surely not shown to the Phaeacians in the guise of a youth or stripling "full of himself, and new to persons and things."

## NOTE.

## XANTHOS AND LYKIOL.

Are these genuine Greek words, and not rather foreign words in a Greek dress, like Φόρκυς B. 862, which represents Phrygian *Bherekunt* according to Kretschmer *ll.* pp. 186, 229? Xanthos is not found as a geographical term in Greece (though it is true that a Xanthos was son of the Erymanthos in Arcadia). The Xanthus in Epirus *Aen.* iii. 350 may be put down as a poetic fiction. In Miletos was a family called

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plato *Lysis* 217 D, εἰ τις σοῦ [Menexenos] ξανθὰς ὀφθας τὰς τρίχας κτλ. and Theocr. ii. 78. Cf. too in reference to the young son of Henry VI.

Then came wandering by  
A shadow like an angel, with bright hair  
Dabbled in blood.

*Rich.* III. i 4, 52.

Εὐξαντίς deriving its name from Εὐξανθίος or Εὐξάντιος, son of the Cretan Minos: cf. Εὐξαντίδα νᾶσον (Ceos) Bacch. ii. 8 with Kenyon's note. The double form of this name -νθ- beside -ντ- may be due to assimilation to ξανθός; or both -ντ- and -νθ- may represent a non-Aryan -nt-, cf. Kretschmer *l.l.* pp. 293 seq. Ξάνθος may be connected with this Εὐξαντίς—the Lycian city Xanthos was so called ἀπὸ Ξάνθου Αἰγυπτίου ἢ Κρητὸς οἰκιστοῦ (Steph. Byz.). As this non-Aryan -nt- appears as -nd- in Asia Minor, e.g. in Pandaros (Kretschmer *ib.* p. 296), one would like to know the view of those skilled in these matters, as to the possibility of Xanthos, as the name of a city, river and man, being identical with the god Sandon.

Again, why should the Egyptians of the 14th cent. have used the term Ru-ka or Ru-ku for the Lycians, if the name Λύκιος were a Greek invention? and can Λύκιος be separated from Λυκάων?

The Greeks do not seem to have suspected that Xanthos and Lykioi were more Greek than Sirmis or Sibros, Arna and Tremileis.

Against the view that Xanthos &c. in the north are poetical borrowings is the circumstance that we should, I think, have to suppose not one, but two distinct loans, for the Iliad places the northern Lykie at a distance from Xanthos-Skamandros. We have two groups of names. First at Ilion, Xanthos [cf. Xanthe, name of the Troad, Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Τρωάς, and Hesych.] and Lykaon, son of Priam, and secondly in the valley of the Aisopos the Lykie of Pandaros, son of Lykaon.

Dr Leaf writes on E. 105 "The only strange thing is that the Trojan Lycians disappear at the end of the episode of Pandaros (296) &c." But P.'s followers do not appear to be known as Λύκιοι. They are Τρώες B. 826, and naturally merge in the mass of Trojans after the death of their chief.

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## ΠΟΡΦΥΡΕΟΣ.

I. A very slight examination of commentaries &c. on Homer shows that there is no general agreement about the meaning of πορφύρεος. In Ameis-Hentze's *Odyssey* β. 428 we find (κύμα) "πορφύρεον hier in der ursprünglichen Bedeutung (vgl. πορφύρω) aufwallend." On A. 482 = β. 428 Dr Leaf writes "πορφύρεον, a word which seems to be properly used, as here, of the dark colour of disturbed waves." But Professor Henke, *Homers Odyssee, Hilfsheft* (Teubner, 1896) p. 100, declares that "das aufgewühlte, zerstiebende, schäumende Wasser, etwa am Vordersteven des Schiffes, ist glitzernd, πορφύρεος." Similarly he explains (p. 150) that on beds were laid ῥήγεα, "Kissen, die mit weissen Ueberzügen versehen sind und deshalb σιγαλόεντα πορφύρεα, glänzende, schimmernde genannt werden" and (p. 160) "Die Farbe des Mantels ist rot, φοινικόεσσα, oder schimmernd, schillernd, πορφυρέη." But in Ameis-Hentze<sup>s</sup> Γ. 126 δίπλακα πορφυρέην is "ein purpurfarbiges." Again, in L. S.<sup>7</sup> we read that when the word is used of stuff, cloths &c. "it does not mean *purple* or *red*, but *dark*, *russet*, without any notion of artificial colour; for the *purple-fish* (πορφύρα) was unknown to Hom.; nor does he seem to have been acquainted with the art of dyeing, except in the rudest form, *Il.* 4. 141." The meaning of the word would therefore seem to be still open to discussion, and I should like to suggest the following arrangement.

II. In accordance with its etymology, as an epithet of the shore-water ἄλα (once), of a wave κύμα, both at sea (thrice) and in a river (twice), πορφύρεος means "violently disturbed," "surging," "swelling."



Π. 391 The *χαράδραι* swollen with heavy rain run down εἰς ἄλα πορφυρέην, i.e. into the shore-water which is violently agitated by this influx from the hills.

In A. 482 = β. 428 (the time in A. is early day, in β. early night) a wave surges and roars around the stem of a sailing vessel. In reference to this passage Breusing (*Fleckeisens Jahrbücher* 1885, p. 82) justly remarked that the scholiast's μέλαν is as suitable to sunlight. Similarly ν. 85 in the wake of the Phaeacian ship, which went faster than the fastest birds, a wave of the roaring sea πορφύρεον μέγα θύε.

Again we hear once or twice of a great wave miraculously surging up in a river:

Φ. 326 πορφύρεον δ' ἄρα κύμα διπετέος ποταμοῖο  
ἴστατ' αἰερόμενον.

λ. 243 πορφύρεον δ' ἄρα κύμα περιστάθη οὔρει ἴσον  
κυρτωθέν, κρύψεν δὲ θεὸν θνητὴν τε γυναικα.

In the latter passage the scene is ἐν προχοῇς ποταμοῦ, but according to Ebeling's *Lex. Hom.*, s. v. πορφύρεος, the wave, which is due to Poseidon, is a wave of the sea. This doubt, however, does not affect our interpretation.

The verb πορφύρω (πορ-φῦρ-ω), a reduplicated intensive verb (cf. μορμύρω) from √bhur, has much the same meaning in the only passage of the poems in which it is not figurative, viz. Ξ. 16, where it describes the heaving of the billows when we see

"The water swell before a boisterous storm"  
(*Rich. III.* 2. 3. 43).

It occurs there in a simile, and the whole passage is the best illustration of its transferred meaning:

Ξ. 16 ὥς δ' ὅτε πορφύρῃ πέλαγος μέγα κύματι κωφῶ,  
ὀσσύμενον λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψήρὰ κέλευθα,  
αὐτῶς, οὐδ' ἄρα τε προκυλίνδεται οὐδετέρωσσε,  
πρὶν τίνα κεκριμένον καταβήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς οὔρον,  
ὥς ὁ γέρων ὥρμαινε, δαιζόμενος κατὰ θυμὸν,  
διχθάδι...

With this compare

Φ. 551 πολλὰ δέ οἱ κραδίη πόρφυρε μένοντι, i.e. Agenor was "sorely moved" in mind as he considered whether he should flee with the rest or not. Slightly changed (μοι, κίοντι) the expression recurs δ. 427, 572 and κ. 309. The passages in the fourth book describe Menelaos pondering the words of Eidothee and of Proteus, and the last refers to Odysseus after Hermes told him about Circe, and gave him the magic herb. It is to be noted that *πορφύρειν* perhaps does not itself convey any idea of hesitation between conflicting courses, but only the notion of being disturbed.

With *πορφύρειν* cf. the use in the Rig-Veda of the intensive 3. sg. Pres. Ind. *járbhuriti* = to move quickly to and fro ("sich rasch hin und her bewegen, zucken, zappeln"). The participles *járbhurat*, *járbhurāṇa* have the same meaning or are used of the play (züngeln) of fire (see Grassmann, *Lexicon zum R. V.* col. 940 s.v. *bhur*).

In these instances *πορφύρεος* acts as a verbal adjective to *πορφύρειν*, and one cannot help suspecting that the word is really an instance of *-io-* used (rarely, in Greek, Monro *H. Gr.*<sup>1</sup> p. 101) as a primary suffix. When the word came to denote a colour, then analogy with *κυάνεος* and similar words may have brought about the change<sup>1</sup>.

III. Besides *πορφύρω* we find in the two Epics the transitive verb *φύρω*. In Attic this verb had often a meaning not far remote from that of *πορφύρω*, viz. to jumble, confuse. In Homer we have only six instances of it, and in all it is used of wetting something solid with a liquid that leaves a mark, generally with tears Ω. 162 ρ. 103 σ. 173 τ. 596, and twice with blood ι. 397 σ. 21. This development of meaning seems to require us, if *φύρω* is rightly derived from the same root as *πορφύρω*, to suppose that the Greeks were already acquainted with some process of dyeing in which they moved about (*ἔφυρον*) the solid to be stained in a dye. As the result of such moving about was to stain, *φύρειν* acquired this specialised meaning.

<sup>1</sup> The Aeolic *πορφύριος*, of course, is no evidence.



The adjective πορφύρεος ("in a middle-muddle in the dyeing vat" Grant Allen *Colour-Sense* p. 270) underwent a change of meaning similar to that of πεφυρμένος to be "in a stained condition" (this participle is the commonest form from φύρω in H.), but in the case of the adjective the process of change was carried further. The adjective could be used by the poet to denote colour without any mention of the colouring matter, whereas the verb φύρω is always accompanied in the poems by a dative (once a genitive) which expresses that with which the thing is stained. Further the adjective was limited to the important colours obtained from the purple shell-fish and from the coccus ilicis: and, lastly, the colouring process being forgotten, the word could be used to denote objects naturally coloured.

(a) Objects artificially coloured. We have 16 instances of the word so used, to which we should add the three cases of ἀλιπόρφυρος. This word is most simply and satisfactorily explained as sea-purple, i.e. dyed with purple obtained from the sea, which was reckoned better and more valuable than cochineal. In the wonderful Ithacan cave the nymphs

ν. 108 φάρε' ὑφαίνουσιν ἀλιπόρφυρα,

and the Queen of the Phaeacians sat

ζ. 53 & 306 ἡλάκατα στρωφῶσ' ἀλιπόρφυρα.

The wool of Arete was 'purple-in-grain,' for the dye is fastest if the wool is dyed before spinning: see the note in Furness' *Variorum Shakespeare*, m. n. D. p. 41) and cf. *Exodus* xxxv. 25. The existence of ἀλιπόρφυρος by the side of πορφύρεος, and the limitation of the former word to things possessed by nymphs and Phaeacians, seem to show that the purple of ordinary beings was of an inferior kind. But it would seem as if even this were not in common use. The purple carpets and rugs<sup>1</sup> are used for guests in the house of Arete η. 337, Circe κ. 353, Menelaos δ. 298, Odysseus ν. 151, and in the hut of Achilles ι. 200 and Ω. 645. The Phaeacians, who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the coloured, wadded quilt razā,ī commonly used in India in the cold weather.



have everything handsome about them, use a purple ball θ. 373 in their dance. Hector's bones are wrapped in purple πέπλοι Ω. 796: Helen and Andromache weave great purple webs (according to the accepted reading Γ. 126, X. 441). Telemachus wears a purple shawl δ. 115, 154 when he goes to visit Menelaos, and similarly Odysseus represents himself as paying calls in Crete in a purple shawl, and receiving such a thing (δίπλακα) as a present τ. 225, and 242: the Phaeacians also gave him a purple φᾶρος θ. 84. Lastly Agamemnon took a purple φᾶρος in his hand, evidently to attract attention, when he started to rally the Greeks Θ. 221.

(b) Objects not artificially coloured.

(i) The word is applied to blood shed in battle in P. 361 (αἵματι δὲ χθὼν δέυετο πορφυρέῳ), and we are told of Hypsenor, whose hand was cut off by the sword, of Kleoboulos, whose neck was struck with the sword, and of Echeolos, whose head was cut in two with the sword

τὸν δὲ κατ' ὄσσε  
ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή.  
(E. 83 Π. 334 T. 477)

CF Shirley's lines

Upon Death's purple altar now  
see where the victor-victim bleeds:

or the references under *purple* in Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon*. In the three cases of π. θάνατος our attention is directed to the loss of blood, in E. 82 by the words αἱματόεσσα δὲ χεὶρ πεδίῳ πέσσε, and in Π. 334 T. 477 by πᾶν δ' ὑπεθερμάνθη ξίφος αἵματι: and it seems safe to assume that the loss of blood was more sudden and greater than when death was caused by a spear which stuck in the body.

(ii) The two remaining instances are included in the following passage:

P. 547 ἥντε πορφυρέην ἱρὴν θνητοῖσι τανύσση  
Ζεὺς ἐξ οὐρανόθεν, τέρας ἔμμεναι ἢ πολέμοιο,  
ἢ καὶ χειμῶνος δυσθαλπέος, ὅς ῥά τε ἔργων

ἀνθρώπους ἀνέπασεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ μῆλα δὲ κήδει,  
ὥς ἡ πορφυρέη νεφέλη πυκάσασα ἐ αὐτὴν  
δύσεται Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος, ἔγειρε δὲ φῶτα ἕκαστον.

Veckenstedt (*Geschichte der griechischen Farbenlehre* pp. 91—4) says that in the language of some primitive peoples the rainbow is called simply 'red', or special emphasis is laid on the red, the reason for this being that red suggests fire or blood. So in our passage the purple rainbow is a portent of war and πορφύρεος θάνατος, or of the fiery scirocco. The war-goddess Athene, who in Δ came down to the earth like a shooting-star cast by Zeus

Δ. 76 ἡ ναύτησι τέρας ἡὲ στρατῷ εὐρέι λαῶν,

i.e., presumably, as a sign of a storm or of a battle, here wraps a fiery red cloud about her when she comes to excite yet further the contest over Patroclus. The cloud moving with divine rapidity makes a long line of red light which the poet compares to a rainbow. It seems inconsistent with the simplicity of the Homeric treatment of colour to suppose, as Veckenstedt suggests, that, as purple is "Rot mit Blauschimmer," it is used here in reference to the blue as well as the red in the rainbow.

IV. All the Homeric instances have now been surveyed. The explanations, given in somewhat dogmatic form, have perhaps the merit of being appropriate, and of involving nothing inconsistent with the simplicity of the Homeric treatment of colour. There remains the duty of considering the use made of *purpureus* by the Augustan poets, for, on the assumption that the account just given be correct, the meaning is not obvious of

purpureis ales oloribus (Hor. *C.* iv. 1, 10)

and of

bracchia purpurea candidiora nive

(Albinovanus, *Eleg.* II. 62).

Horace may indeed have intended wonderful purple swans like the purple ram of Simonides (*Fr.* 21), which in its turn

may have been suggested by the Homeric rams *ιοδνεφές εἶρος ἔχοντες* (ι. 426). Albinovanus, again, may have referred to snow as seen when

"Blue isles and snowy mountains wear  
The purple noon's transparent light".

On the other hand, at least in the line of Albinovanus, it is more likely that *purpureus* means 'bright,' 'shining.' To such a use of the word certain passages in Catullus and Vergil may have given rise. In the well-known description of sunrise at sea Catullus applied *purpureus* to light:

purpureaque procul nantes ab luce refulgent  
(*LXIV.* 275).

In this line (which no doubt gives us the poet's interpretation of *κῦμα πορφύρεον*) *purpurea* is used as literally as in the passage just quoted from Shelley. Vergil followed with

largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit  
purpureo, (*Aen.* vi. 640)

where, again, 'purpureo' is literal, as in Shelley, and with

lumenque juventae  
purpureum  
(*Aen.* i. 590),

with which compare the well-known verse of Phrynichus (*apud Athen.* 604 A)

λάμπει δ' ἐπὶ πορφυρέαις παρῇσι φῶς ἔρωτος.

This application of 'purpureus' to light may have misled Horace in *Odes* iv. (written after the death of Vergil) and Albinovanus into applying the epithet to objects which are not purple, but shine very brightly. None, I think, of the passages collected by commentators from Vergil's own poems requires the meaning 'lustrous'. 'ver purpureum' (*Ecl.* ix. 40; so Tibullus iii. 5, 4) is to be explained by 'vere rubenti' (*Georg.* ii. 319), for in spring 'mother Flora'

praespargens ante vias  
cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet.  
(*Lucr.* v. 739)



Special mention may be made of the following writings:

Grant Allen: *The Colour-Sense*, 1879.

A. Breusing: *Nautisches zu Homeros*, i. πορφύρειν und πορφύρεος (Fleckeisens Jahrbücher 1885).

Veckenstedt: *Geschichte der griechischen Farbenlehre*, 1888 cc. 16, 17 and 30.

Dedekind: *Ein Beitrag zur Purpurkunde*, 1898 (known to me only through the review in Literarisches Centralblatt, November 1898).

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## ΧΛΩΡΗΣ.

The epithet *χλωρής* of the nightingale τ. 518 I should like to interpret 'songster'. The English and German name means 'the night-singer', and the last syllable is related to our *yell*, German *gellen* to resound, old German *galan* to sing, and also to *χελιδών*: cf. Skeat, and Kluge, *s. vv.*, and Fick I. 416. From *χελ-* would be formed first \**χλωρό-*, in which *-λω-* represents a long sonant as in *βλωθ-ρό-ς*, *στρω-τό-ς* (cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* I<sup>2</sup> p. 475), and thence a noun of action, the feminine of which would be our *χλωρής*. The masculine would exist in *χλωρεύς*, a bird of which we seem only to know that it was the enemy of certain birds (Arist. 609<sup>a</sup> 7, 25). In Hesychios we certainly find *χλωρεύς* ὀρνιθάριον *χλωρόν* but this is quite likely to be merely a guess. Until a sure instance can be found of the termination *-εύς* being equivalent merely to *-ος* (as though *ίερεύς* should be no more than *ίερός*) such interpretations as 'brown bright' (Butcher and Lang's *Odyssey*), or 'supple-necked' or 'liquid-voiced' (see Marindin, *C. R.* 1898 Feb. p. 37), must surely remain improbable.

Aristotle vouches for the colour of the *χλωρίς* and *χλωρίων* (615<sup>b</sup> 32 ἡ δὲ καλουμένη χλωρίς διὰ τὸ τὰ κάτω ἔχειν ὠχρά, 617<sup>a</sup> 28 ὁ δὲ χλωρίων χλωρὸς ὅλος), and these words present no grammatical difficulty: cf. such a feminine as Ἀχαιίς, and *μαλακίων*, *δειλακρίων* (both given in L. S. from Aristophanes) beside *μαλακός*, *δειλακρός*, see Brugmann *Grundriss* II. p. 337. There is therefore no reason for separating these words from *χλωρός*. But we should perhaps separate the female name *Χλωρίς* from *χλωρός* green, and make it 'loud'. We find at least in Pausanias (see Pape-Benseler *Gr. Eigenn.* s.v. *Χλωρίς* 2)

a story that Melibœa daughter of Niobe turned pale at the death of her brothers and sisters and was therefore called Chloris. But rather Meliboia 'Sweet voiced' = Chloris 'Loud.' Another daughter of Niobe was called Melia, a short form of Meliboia, cf. Fick-Bechtel *Gr. Personennamen* p. 400. The story given by the scholiast on τ. 518 connects Niobe and her children with the story of 'Αηδών. Pape-Benseler mentions another Chloris, daughter of Pieros. This Pieros, whichever he may have been of the four that they give *l. l. s. v.* Πίερος, was connected with the Muses or Linos. Hence my interpretation is again suitable.

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OXFORD MSS. OF DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS,  
DE COMPOSITIONE VERBORUM.

§ 1. UNTIL the end of this century the text of the 'rhetorica' of Dionysius was much neglected. The sober, if somewhat pedantic, judgments of the critic, are usually intelligible despite the corruptness of the text. So Reiske's edition has remained the standard edition until the publication, in this year, of the text of Radermaeher and Usener<sup>1</sup>. Reiske's text had not a sufficient foundation in manuscript evidence. Before Reiske, Hudson did not possess a first-hand knowledge of the Paris MSS which he used, and did not collate Savile's transcript of the 'exemplar Dudithii<sup>2</sup>' with great diligence. Upton did a good deal for the explanation of the 'de compositione verborum.' Sylburg, who published his text and notes in 1586, greatly improved Dionysius' text, but he had none of the MSS at hand which are now chiefly valued. R. Stephanus (1547) and H. Stephanus (1554) contributed much to the improvement of the text. Their editions with those of Aldus Manutius (1508, 1513) and Victorius<sup>3</sup> (1581) are even now the foundation of the critical study of these rhetorical treatises.

§ 2. It is unfortunate that a complete edition of the 'rhetorica' of Dionysius, if designed, was never carried out by Petrus Victorius. Piero Vettori<sup>4</sup> was born July 3rd, 1499, and died December 18th, 1585. Among his pupils, friends and

<sup>1</sup> *Opuscula*, vol. i. Teubner 1899. Vol. ii. is not yet published.

<sup>2</sup> For the 'exemplar Dudithii' see Sadée, *de Dionys. Hal. script. rhet.* p. 6, n. 2. Usener *praef.* p. xxix.

<sup>3</sup> The *editio princeps* of the lives of

Isaeus and Deinarchus. Sylburg first published the 'de admirabili vi dicendi in Demosthene' and the 'de Thucydide.'

<sup>4</sup> See Rüdiger's monograph, Victorius aus Florenz, Halle (1896).

correspondents were most of the learned men in Italy, and many outside. Victorius had a wide knowledge of Greek and Roman Rhetoric. He edited Demetrius *περὶ ῥημνείας* in 1552, and Aristotle's Rhetoric in 1548. In these commentaries and in his 'Variae Lectiones' he shows an intimate acquaintance with the 'de compositione verborum' and the lives of Lysias and Isocrates. In the introductory chapter to his commentary on the Rhetoric he speaks in terms of praise of the rhetorical writings of Dionysius, then almost neglected. He is anxious to rescue them from an undeserved obscurity: *ut memoria huius eruditi politique scriptoris cuius magnum nomen quondam fuit nunc obscurata renovetur ac studio meo illustretur*<sup>1</sup>. Victorius had access to two of the chief MSS of Dionysius, one now at Paris, another at Florence, where he lived. It was probably from the latter that he derived the passage which he quotes in the introduction to the Rhetoric from the life of Isaeus, at that time unpublished. He published the life of Isaeus with that of Deinarchus from the Florence MS in 1581. The manuscript of Victorius was sent to a pupil and relative Tebalducci Malespini<sup>2</sup> with a letter, asking him to see that it was carefully printed at Lyons, where Malespini was staying. Victorius wished these lives to be published, *ne hae quoque perirent quae in uno tantum uetusto exemplari apud nos leguntur, ut accepi a doctis uiris et ueteris memoriae amatoribus*. This 'exemplar' is Laur. LIX. 15. The Paris MS of Dionysius to which Victorius had access is Par. 1741. It was lent to him by Cardinal Rodulphi, when he was preparing his edition of the Rhetoric. It contains Demetrius *περὶ ῥημνείας*, and of Dionysius the 'de compositione verborum,' the second letter to Ammaeus, and the spurious 'ars rhetorica', besides other treatises of Rhetoric (Usener, p. vii.).

We have no lack of materials by which to judge of the methods of Victorius in verbal and textual criticism. With regard to the former, it is interesting to note that he tried, though vainly, to combat the prevalent neglect of Greek in

<sup>1</sup> This was perhaps written before the publication of the edition of R. Stephanus in 1547.

<sup>2</sup> Epistol. Vict. ix. 16 Petroantonio Theobalduccio Iacomino S. Florentia Kal. Dec. MDLXXX.



Italy. He sent his MS of the lives of Isaeus and Deinarchus to Malespini at Lyons, to a country *in qua floret Graeca lingua et eruditio*. It was with sorrow that, as a concession to the weaker brethren who would only read Aristotle in Latin versions, he offered in his second edition of the Rhetoric a close translation. Readers of his commentaries, or of Rüdiger's monograph, will not need to be reminded of the importance which Victorius attached to the finding of Ciceronian equivalents for terms of Greek Rhetoric. His appeal is constantly to the 'rhetorica' of Cicero and to Quintilian's 'Institutio Oratoria', especially Bk. ix. chap. 4. His published and unpublished work is pervaded by this absorbing interest<sup>1</sup>. As to his critical methods<sup>2</sup>, we know that in editing Aeschylus he kept close to the Medicean MS, in editing the Rhetoric to Par. 1741, in editing the lives of Isaeus and Deinarchus to Laur. LIX. 15. The marginal notes in his books are largely reports of readings of various MSS. This is the case with his copy of the Aldine Rhetores Graeci of 1508. His marginal notes on the 'de compositione verborum', drawn from various MSS, were published in 1815 by F. Göller in his edition of the treatise. They have suggested many clues to those who have sought out the true text of Dionysius in this century. Victorius may even be said to have been the pioneer whose direction Hanow, Sadée and Usener have followed. It does not however appear that Victorius copied MSS himself; his practice was rather to jot down the principal readings in some MS or printed book with which he was working at the time when he had access to an important MS<sup>3</sup>.

§ 3. The MSS of Dionysius' 'rhetorica' in the Bodleian are

<sup>1</sup> Rüdiger, pp. 88—101. Victorius' modes of reference in his *anecdota* are well illustrated by his copy of the Aldine Rhetores Graeci (1508). I owe to the kindness of Dr Franz Boll of Munich a photograph of f. 515<sup>v</sup> of this valuable book.

<sup>2</sup> Codex Barocc. xxii, in the Bodleian, contains many unpublished corrections by Victorius of the Aldine

edition (1508?) of Ammonius' commentary on the *περί ἐμπνεύσεως* and *κατηγορίαι* of Aristotle.

<sup>3</sup> His diligence was unusual; he often copied out chapters or sections of authors. See Hardt's Catal. cod. Mon. Compare also Munro, *Lucretius* vol. i. p. 11, where it should be noticed that Vettori's books came from Rome to Munich in 1780.



all late. But one of them is unusually interesting. In 1817, just after the publication of Götter's edition of the 'de compositione verborum', there came to the Bodleian, in the Canonici collection (no. 45), a small *quarto* paper MS of this treatise. It is a copy made at some time in the xvth century, probably after 1560. It is based on the Florentine MS with *variae lectiones* and marginal notes<sup>1</sup>. It has not the appearance of being a mechanical copy: rather it seems to be the work of a scholar who was conversant with the MSS of the treatise and, while he was aware of the importance of the Florentine MS, saw that in many cases it needed to be corrected<sup>2</sup>. The marginal notes are supplied by one who quotes Cicero, Quintilian, Virgil, Horace, Donatus on Terence, Terentianus de metris, Demetrius, Strabo, and Dionysius' life of Isocrates.

The only other MS of the entire treatise is a xvth century MS ('*olim Saibantius*' Miscell. 230). It contains also, with other 'rhetorica', the 'Ars Rhetorica' and the letter to Ammaeus about Thucydides. This MS I propose to call S<sup>b</sup>. There is a MS of the Epitome of the treatise of no value (Misc. 160 = E<sup>b</sup>). To these should be added a MS of Thucydides which contains the letter to Ammaeus (Canon. 48) and a transcript of the 'exemplar Dudithii' made in 1581 by<sup>3</sup> or for Sir Henry Savile, important as containing the life of Deinarchus. This MS (Misc. Gr. 36) is the 'Bodleianus' of Hudson. But it is only with MSS of the 'de compositione verborum' that I propose here to deal.

<sup>1</sup> Some of these, referring to Cicero's 'rhetorica' by Boulier's edition of 1562, are later than the others. The handwriting is larger and shakier, and may not be that of the first annotator. One note which is certainly written by the maker of this transcript refers to an edition of Strabo (in 1517), another to the edition of Demetrius *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* by Victorius, another to an edition of the letters to Atticus probably not earlier than 1560.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Reiske, p. 114, 7, Vettori's '1' omits ἀξιώματις...διὰ ταῦτα, but

the Canonici MS does not.

<sup>3</sup> The writing resembles that in Savile's books, e.g. the Aldine Ammonius of 1503, where in one case Savile says of a comment of Ammonius 'a peese of information little to the purpose.' For Dudithius, see Draseo-with's *vita* and Becker *de adm.* *vid.* p. xlix, n. 87. He was a pupil of P. Manutius. He visited Florence in 1558 and probably then procured a transcript of the 'vita Dinarchi', and perhaps other parts of Dionysius. Savile's copy of the 'de Thucydide'

§ 4. The classification of the MSS of this treatise has been most ably treated by Usener in his *Index Scholarum Bonnen-sium* (1878). In this monograph he edited the fourteenth chapter with an elaborate *apparatus criticus*. His aim was to show the substantial agreement of the Florentine MS (F) with the tradition of the Epitome and the text of the chapter as quoted in the *scholia* on Hermogenes *περὶ ἰδεῶν*<sup>1</sup>. At the same time Usener drew attention to the difference between F and Rodulphi's *Codex*, his P. The evidence afforded by this one chapter allowed him to group the MSS of this treatise about F and P. But one fact must be kept in mind. F had lost a *quaternio* of leaves<sup>2</sup>, which contained the end of the 'de compositione verborum' and the beginning of the 'de oratoribus antiquis'. F's tradition ends abruptly at the words *μυστηρίους μὲν οὖν*, in Reiske's text p. 194, v. 5. Of course it was Usener's desire to find somewhere the Florentine tradition for the last pages of the treatise. The leaves were missing when Victorius copied the readings of F into his Aldine *Rhetores Graeci*. It seems that they were missing as early as the year 1269. There seems to be no MS known to be mediate or immediately derived from F when it was complete<sup>3</sup>. Even the Epitome can hardly be proved to rest on a complete MS of this family, though it naturally would, and probably did, preserve one tradition to the end. It becomes meagre toward the close of the treatise, and has few, if any, readings peculiar to itself<sup>4</sup>.

§ 5. As far, then, as p. 194, v. 5 *μυστηρίους μὲν οὖν* the 'de compositione verborum' is preserved in two families of MSS, F and P. After that point, beside the P family, we can only rely on (1) the Epitome, and the *marginalia* of Victorius, (2) the readings of the Milan MS of the 'de admirabili vi dicendi in Demosthene' in a few places where the later treatise

was made in 1581, when Dudithius was living at Breslau.

<sup>1</sup> Walz. *Rhet.* vii. 965, 2—969, 19. A Bodleian MS of these *Scholia* (Misc. 268) substantially agrees with Usener's R for this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Sadée, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Usener, *I.S.B.* pp. viii—xiii. *praef.* (1899) p. xi.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. 208, 3 *μηδὲν < ἡβουλήθη > κτλ.* explaining the infinitives which follow in the MSS, as in Can. (C), S<sup>b</sup>.



repeats the actual words of the earlier<sup>1</sup>. The P family is, however, not quite harmonious, and seems to contain two groups, in one of which the tradition approaches more nearly that of F. Usener has selected some Paris MSS, 1797, 1798, 1799, to exhibit the peculiar features of this group. To it also he refers the 'p' of Victorius' margin<sup>2</sup>. It may be called the Pp group, and distinguished from P itself and the MSS like Usener's G and the Oxford S<sup>b</sup><sup>3</sup>, which may be called conveniently the Pg group for the purpose of this paper.

§ 6. When the Florentine tradition breaks off abruptly at p. 194, v. 5, the writer of the Canonici MS goes steadily on his way without marking the place where the break occurs. Only in the margin the sign  $\div$ , used often by the annotator where he adds cross references to various parts of the treatise or explains a hard word, is placed without comment<sup>4</sup>. It may seem strange that the writer of the MS did not, as Victorius did in his margin, distinctly mention where the Florentine tradition ends. A common scribe, set down to copy F, would almost certainly have marked this terminus of his labours. It might therefore be thought that the MS is not directly copied from F. Until we have Usener's collation of F, it would be rash to pronounce that C is immediately derived from F<sup>5</sup>. But its close resemblance to F in c. XIV (where we have the benefit of Usener's collation) leaves hardly any room for doubt. It agrees more than 100 times with F against P, some 20 times with F alone, never with P alone; where it differs from F it usually agrees with the MSS of the Epitome or the *scholia* on Hermogenes<sup>6</sup>. The omission of the writer to make a distinct

<sup>1</sup> I once hoped that C would supply the tradition of F or its 'gemellus' for these pages.

<sup>2</sup> Index Schol. Bonn. p. xii. n. 13.

<sup>3</sup> S<sup>b</sup> resembles G in c. xiv, the ode of Sappho, and the end of the treatise (R. 194, 5 *ad fin.*). It may be neglected; Usener I.S.B. p. iv. *praef.* p. x.

<sup>4</sup> The MS has been cut down in binding, but it seems that no note was made in this case.

<sup>5</sup> R. 107, 11 διακεκόλασται LC;

113, 13 υπείχθην l, υπήχθην C *corr.*;

157, 7 τὸ ἐπὶ εἴτε σύνδεσμοι FC.

<sup>6</sup> The writer of C had other MSS at hand (*infra* § 8) and the Aldine edition of 1508. There are 'proprii errores' in C, e.g. c. xiv, v. 6 (by Usener's edition) μὲν τῶν φωνηέντων C: v. 48 δηλωτικὸς C. Also v. 62 καὶ before δαίμονος is omitted in C. The other places where C and F do not agree are v. 7 μυγμὸν REC, μυγμὸν F; v. 14 δὲ



note of the break in the Florentine tradition may be explained by his having noticed it elsewhere, or by his knowing the fact too well for it to be necessary for him to record it. The text of the last pages of the treatise is founded on the Aldine edition and a MS of the Pp group. But there are a few readings, even here, which seem to have some better authority. These might be derived from a MS of the Epitome or from one resembling the 'v' of Victorius. For instance 195, 8 *μοῦσαν] οἶμαι* E C Vict. 'v' and 196, 17 *κατὰ στίχον] καὶ κατὰ στίχον* E C corr. Vict. 'v'. The writer of the MS clearly changed his plan in constructing his text. At first he preserved the Aldine tradition, improving it from MS sources. He may have thought it simpler to found his text on a MS which, if faulty, was complete. He used the Florentine readings as variants. Thus his first *variā lectio* is the first reading which Victorius reported from F in his Aldine Rhetores. But after a few pages, not always quite consistently, he began to make the Florentine text his own, and he treated other readings, which may usually be termed vulgate, as variants<sup>1</sup>. These variants are not, it seems, variants derived from F itself, but from other MSS. Certainly we may say they are not wholly taken from the editions of Manutius or Stephanus. The selection of them is somewhat arbitrary, but illustrates, on the whole, very fairly the difference between the P tradition and that of F and the Epitome.

§ 7. From what has been said it will be gathered that the writer of C used (1) the Aldine Rhetores Graeci of 1508, (2) Laur. LIX. 15, (3) a MS of the Pp group, (4) possibly the 'v' of Victorius or a MS of the Epitome. It is quite clear that he worked at his copy at different times. The identity of the hand is plain; the writing has a well-marked style. Temporary circumstances, such as a new pen or fresh ink, cause the aspect of the writing to vary from time to time. Careful consideration

ἐκφωνεῖται REC, δ' ἐκφωνεῖται F; v. 32 *τε τοῦ] τὸ F, τοῦ REC*; v. 34 *στρογγυλίζεται REC, στρογγυλλίζεται F*; v. 76 *δὲ* after *ψιλότῃ* om. C. v. 81 *τοῦ φάρυγος REC, τῆς φάρυγος F*; v. 66 *δὴ F, om. RC*; 72 *β̄ καὶ τὸ γ̄ καὶ δ̄ F, β̄ καὶ τὸ*

*γ̄ καὶ τὸ δ̄ RC.*

<sup>1</sup> Various readings are introduced by σ, mere corrections without this sign. This distinction is made constantly but not invariably.

of the handwriting leads me to ascribe almost all the variants and corrections to the writer of the MS<sup>1</sup>. His practice seems to have been this. Each new day when he went to work he revised what he had last written and added various readings and references, if they had not been inserted already. Despite the care with which the work is done, the MS is not of much value as a presentation of the Florentine tradition, since F exists and the writer of C is rather a *διασκευαστὴς* than a copyist. But the interest of the MS is antiquarian and bibliographical. Who was the scholar who preserved with so much care the Medicean tradition for the 'de compositione verborum'? It was unknown to Stephanus and Sylburg<sup>2</sup>. Who at the end of the xvith century had so large an *apparatus criticus*? Why did this text of the 'de compositione verborum' never find its way to the press? It is not easy to answer these questions for many reasons. Firstly, it is unsafe to trust the indexes of books of this date. No one would gather from the indexes of the books of Victorius the extent of his acquaintance with the 'rhetorica' of Dionysius<sup>3</sup>. Secondly, there are doubtless many unpublished letters of this period where a clue may be found<sup>4</sup>. It is certainly not a little regrettable that a contribution to the text of this treatise, which would have anticipated Götter's information by 200 years, was neglected. The text it presents differs so strikingly from the vulgate.

§ 8. In seeking to determine the authorship of this MS, we can learn a good deal from the marginal notes. These are not merely corrections of the errors of the first hand and reports of various readings. A few notes are palaeographical. They concern the following tachygraphical signs (1) *ὁμοίως*, *ϕ*

<sup>1</sup> Certainly also one reference to Cicero; R 41. 5 *ἰδρυθήσεται*: 'unde *ἀφιδρυμα* situs et statua, Cice: ad Att.<sup>284</sup> ad id autem quod uolumus *ἀφιδρυμα*.' This reference is most probably to Boulier's edition of 1562, a rare book. See §§ 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg had, of course, the 'exemplar Dudithii' for his edition. The life of Deinarchus rests solely on Laur.

LIX. 15; cf. Sadée p. 7, Usener *praef.* XXIX.

<sup>3</sup> I have collected some 50 references from his notes on the third book of Aristotle's Rhetoric, and many from his Demetrius. See also 'Variae Lectiones' pp. 34, 145, 262 etc.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the vast collection of letters to Vettori in the British Museum, used by Nohlac and Rüdiger.



(2) *ἔταν* ρ' (C mg ♀, perhaps *ἔτε*), (3) *γίνεται* ϑ', (4) ϕ', interpreted as *ὀρίσθω* by Victorius. H. Stephanus pointed out in his *Schediasmata* (II. 14) the places where the Aldine editor blundered over the sign for *ὁμοίως*. In C, as far as the Florentine tradition goes, no mistake is made. The contraction evidently only occurred in a MS of the P family, or only there was liable to be mistaken. The writer of C (p. 41, v. 2) gives *ὁμῖως*, where Victorius gives *ὁμοίως* from his '1'; there is a marginal note:—P ϑ in quodam manuscripto codice loco huius (*ὁμῖως*) reposita erat haec nota sic. ϕ<sup>δ</sup> quae id ualebat. This shows that he had at least one MS before him besides F, and like the MS used by Aldus Manutius it had the tachygraphical sign for *ὁμοίως*<sup>1</sup>. On p. 207, 3 *ὁμοίως* is given where *ἔταν* is the Vulgate reading. The margin of C gives *ἔταν* with the sign ♀<sup>2</sup>. Twice the sign for *γίνεται* is given without comment (112, 3 and 143, 5), a tacit correction and explanation of the errors of Aldus Manutius. Lastly, in three cases where *ὀρίσθω* should be read, with Victorius, the sign has been commonly interpreted as *ὥραία* or *ἔστω*. Twice *ὀρίσθω* is the marginal reading of C (196, 4 and 202, 2), according with the corrections in the margin of Victorius' Aldine. Once (205, 8), where *ὀρίστο* is given in the text, a variant *ὀρίσται* is introduced in the margin with the sign c., meaning doubtless a MS<sup>3</sup> like that used by Stephanus, or even like S<sup>b</sup>.

Some notes by the writer of the MS refer to his authorities for the text. If I may safely infer from Göller's notes that in R. 43, 1 *συναλειφαῖς* was not corrected by Victorius from '1,' the following note in the margin of C may refer to F: *συναλειφαῖς (συναλειφαῖς C)* quamuis in manuscripto legatur διὰ τὸ δ mendose quidem. Again in the previous paragraph I have shown that 'quidam manuscriptus codex' refers not to F but to some other MS. Once again R 171, 14 where *οὐ*, not *οὐ*, is the true reading, but the Aldine edition has *οὐ* (and so C and

<sup>1</sup> Wattenbach, *Anleit. zu Gr. Pal.* p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> R 1111, 15 *ἔτε γράφει* Ambros. cod. M. *ἔτε γράφει* Savile's transcript. with the note 'fortasse *ἔτ'* *ἐγραφε*'.

<sup>3</sup> Not a correction or conjecture probably. I must acknowledge the kindness of Prof. Bywater and Mr W. M. Lindsay in suggesting explanations of these signs.



probably F), Victorius in his margin says 'γρ. οὐ R': R is the sign of some manuscript<sup>1</sup>. The writer of C has this note:—*quamquam in manuscripto et excuso codice οὐ negativa particula sit, P. tamen auctore generandi casus esse debet hic οὐ*. P is evidently some scholar, perhaps the possessor of a manuscript of the epitome<sup>2</sup>. On p. 72, 10 where the vulgate reading is *τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοίων, τοτὲ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὁμογενῶν*, both F and C read *τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων γενῶν, τοτὲ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοιογενῶν*. Victorius corrected *ὁμοίων γενῶν*: 'puto ὁμοιογενῶν.' In the margin of C the note is P.c. *ὁμοιογενῶν*<sup>3</sup>. Of seven readings introduced in the margin by the sign c, it is doubtful if any lacks MS authority. Thus p. 205, 1 *τὸν...συνγείμενον* is probably not a conjecture<sup>4</sup> of Victorius, for it is the reading of S<sup>b</sup>. Again, p. 184, 4 *εἰ δὲ τινι* for *εἰ δ' ἔτι μοι* has the support of the MS in the parallel passage of the 'de admirabili uicendi in Demosthene' (R. 1116, 9). One slight correction (203, 2) introduced by u.<sup>5</sup>, *λαμβάνειν* for *λάμβιον*, is also made in the margin of Victorius. But the word is found so spelt and accented in MSS of the Epitome.

§ 9. Finally, some of the marginal notes give references to illustrative passages either in this treatise or in other parts of Greek and Roman literature. Of course any editor of the 'de compositione verborum' has to supply many references, because Dionysius quotes freely from Greek literature. But these

<sup>1</sup> Vettori's R might be identified, because it omits (R 58, 2 and 59, 1) *οὐτε ἐπιτείνεται...ἐπὶ τὸ ὀξύ*.

<sup>2</sup> In Victorius' Pindar 'P' stands for Petrus Candidus. See Thiersch, *Act. Phil. Mon.* 1812. Victorius corresponded with Thomas Rehdiger who possessed a copy of the Epitome. Passow, *Opusc. Acad.* 1835.

<sup>3</sup> The letters P.c probably denote the MS possessed by some town or scholar. In this case any MS of the Epitome would have the readings *ὁμοιογενῶν* and *ἀνομοιογενῶν*. The correction is clearly made by some scholar who had an *apparatus criticus* similar to

that of Victorius. I do not know if Victorius had access to a MS of the Epitome. There is a list of these in Hanow's edition (1868), obviously incomplete.

<sup>4</sup> Göller reports from Victorius' margin 'γρ. τὸν...συνγείμενον', and it is noted that *δισοει γὰρ οὐδὲν* (205, 3) is thrown into a parenthesis. The sign γρ. is used by Victorius sometimes to introduce a *varia lectio*.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Bywater suggests that 'u' might stand for Urbinas. There is a *Codex Urbinas* of the Epitome: cf. Hanow.

references in C are too vague to afford any clue to the authorship of the MS. A brief mention must be made of the many purely gratuitous illustrations which are collected in the margin of C. Firstly there are not a few cross-references made to various parts of the treatise. These draw attention to the recurrence of a word or thought. In principle these correspond with the cross-references in the Aldine of Victorius. The words which attracted the attention of the annotator are:—*ἀκολουθία*, *ἄλογος*, *ἄσημος*, *διαβεβηκέναι*, *κατακεκλᾶσθαι*, *παραπλήρωμα*, *περιφέρεια*, *συμβολαί*, *συνεξέσθαι*. These words are evidently selected for their importance in the lexicography of Rhetoric. Secondly there are numerous references to the 'rhetorica' of Cicero by the pages of Boulier's edition of 1562<sup>1</sup>, published at Lyons. These references are supplied by a larger and less firm hand than that of the writer of the critical notes. It seems to be not unlikely that the writer himself added these at a later time<sup>2</sup>. The only reference which I have *seen* to Cicero in Victorius' Aldine, that on f. 515, is by his own edition (Venice, Juntae 1537). But the principle of the references in that book is clearly the same as that of those in C. Victorius in his Demetrius observes how Dionysius in this treatise 'tangit multas quaestiones quae a M. Cicerone sedulo in suo illo aureolo libello (i.e. Bruto) explicantur. And two Munich MSS (752, 753) containing the Orator and de Oratore are fitted up with Greek notes drawn from Demetrius and Dionysius. It is worth noting that almost all the illustrations from Cicero in the margin of C are to be found in the commentaries of Victorius. Thus in the Demetrius (pp. 11, 19, 202) Ciceronian renderings of *περίοδος* are given. All these passages are collected in the margin of C. Similar agreement will be found in the notes on *πραγματεία*, 'Cice: fortasse scriptionem...expressit', cf. Rhet. pp. 8 and 15: or *παραπληρώματα* 'complementa verborum' (Cic. Orator, § 230), used also in the Demetrius p. 54. But specially

<sup>1</sup> Evidently a convenient, though not a valuable, edition. There is a fine copy of the 'rhetorica' in the British Museum. I have not seen Boulier's edition of the letters to Atticus.

<sup>2</sup> If I am right in conjecturing that the reference to Cic. ad Att. xiii. 28 (see p. 73, n. 1) is by the page of Boulier's edition, then all the references are made by the same annotator.



remarkable are the illustrations of Dionysius' favourite appeal in matters of literary taste to the κοινή or ἄλογος αἰσθησις. In his *Variae Lectiones* (xiii. c. vi.) Victorius quotes Orator § 203 sed aures ipsae tacito quodam sensu definiunt, and illustrates a passage of the 'de compositione verborum' (88, 1) by it. The margin of C there supplies the quotation from Cicero. Again, where Dionysius (p. 146, 14) uses Pindar's words δίχα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἶπεῖν, the note in C is 'Cice: ad Attic. lib. xiii.<sup>290</sup> quae uerba Pindari sunt.' Victorius in his *Variae Lectiones* (xxxi. c. 29), discussing the passage in the letters to Atticus (xiii. 38), first discovered the author of the quotation. A few other examples might be given of passages from Cicero's 'rhetorica' and Quintilian Bk. ix. chap. 4<sup>1</sup> quoted both by Victorius and the annotator of C. Thus in the Demetrius κεκλῆσθαι is illustrated by Quintilian's fractus incessus (v. 9. 14); and so διακεκλῆσθαι in the margin of C (p. 107, 11). I will add one curious agreement. In a letter of 1581 to Baccius Valorius, Victorius prefers accurate to exacte as a rendering of ἀκριβῶς<sup>2</sup>. The annotator of C catches up (R p. 73, 5) the word and says: Sic Cice: exquisite uel accurate (Brutus § 277). The remaining illustrations are from Demetrius περὶ ἑρμηνείας (once) by the page of Victorius' edition, from Strabo (once) by the page of the Aldine edition of 1517 which he used and annotated, and from Donatus on Terence by Stephanus' edition of 1536.

§ 10. When we consider that Victorius' own work so exactly resembles that of the annotator of this Manuscript, and that the notes in C, about fifty in all, are to be found scattered over his published books; that the editions used by the annotator of it in two cases at least are those used by Victorius; and that the critical apparatus of the writer of C seems to be

<sup>1</sup> Victorius used the Aldine Quintilian (1514) when he annotated his Aldine *Rhetores*. This I learn from Dr Franz Boll. The references in C are probably to the pages of an *octavo*, published between 1540 and 1580. Quint. v. 9 § 14 should agree with

p. 133, 5. and ix. 4 § 80 with p. 275, 29.

<sup>2</sup> In 1584 Valorius consulted Victorius about the proper rendering of ἀκριβεία in Aristotle. See MS letters in the Vettori correspondence in the British Museum.



like his, if not quite so extensive, it might seem possible to suppose that this MS is a revision by Victorius of his materials for a text of the treatise, made at some time after 1560. But it must be considered that in one case at least, p. 204, 8, where C has the false reading ἀναλύεσθαι with an asterisk, this revision would be a retrogression. Then certainly the handwriting of the MS does not resemble that of Victorius in his Aldine margin or in his Lexicon, kindly lent me by the Royal Library at Munich. Dr Franz Boll, to whom I sent a photograph of one page of the manuscript, wrote to me as follows: 'Leider darf man wohl mit aller Sicherheit sagen, dass P. Victorius der Schreiber nicht gewesen ist'. He adds 'Mir scheint übrigens die griechische Schrift der Randnoten, so weit die eine Seite ein Urtheil erlaubt, durchaus dieselbe zu sein wie die im Text... Um so bedauerlicher ist es, dass er nicht zu ermitteln ist. Wir besitzen Autographa noch von drei andern Gelehrten, die sich im 16. Jahrhundert mit Dionysios von Halikarnass abgegeben haben, nämlich von Aem. Portus, Fr. Sylburg und Joh. Sturm, aber keiner von ihnen scheint, nach der Schrift zu urtheilen, Ihren Codex angefertigt zu haben'. Dr Boll's conclusion is fully confirmed by the evidence of an autograph letter of Victorius in the British Museum addressed to Jo. Camerarius, where some few sentences of Greek are quoted. We cannot therefore ascribe the text or marginal notes in C to Victorius. Though the MS proves not to be his work in this sense, may it not be his in another sense? May not Victorius have inspired it? His spirit pervades the notes. It represents a deliberate preference of the Florentine tradition of the treatise, but shows considerable discrimination in certain places. Bergk in his *Lyric Poets* evidently did not agree with Usener in the value to be assigned to F's readings for Pindar. For Dionysius, anyone who reads the account of the three Harmonies in Gölher's text will see at once that F's tradition, though interesting and valuable, is by no means always sound. In some cases, unless the readings of F can be proved to represent the archetype of P and F more closely than those of P do, they will certainly leave a suspicion of systematic corruption which will detract from the authority of F. All

students of this treatise must await with interest Usener's discussion of this point. To Sadée and Usener students of the *Rhetorica* of Dionysius owe more than they can hope to repay. With their names must now be joined that of Radermacher.

A. B. POYNTON.

## APPENDIX.

### SOME READINGS OF MS CANONICI 45.

A. 1, 1—7, 2. C resembles the Aldine text, but has a few Florentine variants.

Reiske V, p. 1, 1 Δ *in mg.* Ωροντοι C . τοι] τοι και C  
 2, 2 ἡδίστην] *deest* 9 ὠφέλιμον] ὠφέλιμοι C 10 δὴ] *deest*  
 3, 2 Μελίτιε] Μετίλιε C  
 4, 7 ποταῖς] *deest* κατηρτυμένης] κεκοσμημένης C 8 γνώσις]  
*invest* 11 φιλότιμον καὶ] *desunt* 12 πέφυκε] πεφυκὸς, συνν θεῶν C  
 12 οὐχ ἤττον] *desunt*  
 5, 2 ἐπὶ τοῦτον *desunt* 6 χρήσεσθαι] χρήσασθαι C 8 εἰδῆ, σ  
*supra scr. m<sup>1</sup>* 9 πρῶτον] *deest* συμβάλλομαι] C *mg.* συμ-  
 βαλλομ<sup>1</sup>  
 6, 1 τὸ] τὸν C 2 οὐκ] *invest, mg. corr.* 3 διαλεκτικὰς] *ita* C  
*mg.*: λεκτικὰς C. 16 τίνων] τίνα C  
 7, 2 τίς ἐκάστης χαρακτήρ] *ita* C: *sed mg.* καὶ τίνες ἐκάστης χα-  
 ρακτήρες, *ita* Victorii L αὐτῶν] αὐ|τῶν C *mg. add.* εἶναι, *ita* L

B. 7, 6—194, 6. C and F agree, but C has some readings not mentioned by Victorius in his notice of the readings of F (his I) in the margin of his copy of the Aldine *Rhetores Graeci* 1508<sup>1</sup>.

7, 11 ἡ σύνθεσις, *om.* δε, Vict. *mg.* C ἐστιν] ἔστι μὲν Vict. *mg*  
*ιστιν* C. 12 παράλληλα C

<sup>1</sup> For Victorius' reports of L or I readings of 1, except where discrepancies are here recorded. see Götter's edition. C has all the

8, 5 μετὰ τούτους Vict. *mg.* C 10 ἀντωνυμίας] ἀντονομασίας  
 Vict. *mg.* In C *mg.* p. 13 (Reisk 37, 12) ἀντονομασίας, aut hoc  
 nomen huius scriptoris proprium est aut ἀντωνυμία legi debet.

12 διεῖλον] Vict. *mg.* et C *mg.* διελόντες

9, 2 τῶν] *deest* 4 οὐ μικρὸς] *ita* C *sed mg.* πολὺς *cum* F  
 17 ἡγήσεται C'

10, 6 αἱ περὶ] ἐπι C 7 λαμβάνουσαι] λαμβάνουσιν C 8 οὐ-  
 κοδομική C *om.* τε, *sed cum lit. fortasse 2 litt.* 9 ὁμογενεῖς C *post*  
*corr.* ἐκλεκτικὴ] C -ων *add. m. recentior*

11, 8 περιθέντες] F'C, ἀποδόντες F *corr.* Vict. 'I' 10 ἡδέως]  
 ἡδέως C

12, 2 ἀποδώσῃ C 4 τίς] τῆς C 6 φάσιν, ἀναπόδεικτον C :  
*cf. Ar. Eth. Nic. 1143<sup>b</sup>.* 12 7 κρείττον] καὶ κρείττον Vict. *mg.* C  
 12 ὁ] *deest: suppl. mg.* Vict.

13, 1 πράγματα (*ante corr.*) C ; *μοx* λιτὰ καὶ, *aliter* Vict. 'L' *ut*  
*vid.* 4 δῖος] θεῖος C 6 ἐκπέμφαντε C

14, 5 ἐνὶ] ἐπὶ C 7 ἄντιον C 11 ἥττων C 15 ὡς ἐγὼ  
 πείθομαι] *desunt, suppl. C mg.<sup>σ</sup>*

15, 1 τε] *deest* 3 ὦραν C 6 εἰσὶν εὐγενεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς C  
 8 διάλεκτος οὐδεμία] *verso ordine* C 9 οὐτε] ἢ C

16, 1 καὶ] ἤδη καὶ C διάλεκτον] C *mg.<sup>σ</sup>* διάλεκτον 2 τοῦτο...  
 τὸ πάθος C 4 μεγάλας ἡδονὰς καὶ χάριτας γίνεσθαι C 6 καλεῖ,  
 Μυρσίλον δε] *desunt* 8 τινα] *post* αὐτοῦ C 10 Γύγης ἦν· τὸ δὲ]  
*desunt*

17, 3 Ἀττίδα γλῶσσαν C

18, 1 τὰ *deest* 2 τυγχάνει] ὑπάρχει C 4 μέγα] *deest*  
 4 λόγον λέγεις C

19, 2 ἐν τόδε ἔστιν C 3 εἶναι *ante* πασῶν γυναικῶν C  
 4 χρῆζειν] δεῖσθαι C 7 λέγω λόγον τόνδε C. *mg.* λέγω *apud*

Herodotum non inuenitur. μή τι] μή τοι C 12 καὶ] *deest*

14 ἐκδύσα] *post* ἱματίων Vict. *non ita* C 17 μελέτω σοι C

18 διαφυγεῖν] *ita* C Vict. *mg.* 19 οὐδ'] οὐδέν C  
 20, 3 φύσις] ἢ φύσις C 5 δήπου] δὲ δήπου C 8 περιττὸν

οὐδὲ σεμνὸν C 12 ἦν'] *deest* 14 αἰσθηταὶ τις C  
 21, 2 πρῶτον] *ita* C. *mg.<sup>σ</sup>* πρῶτα μὲν, *sed eras.* πρῶτα 6 ἄρηται]

ἄροιτο 7 ἥρωϊκὸν] ἥρωϊον C, *mg.<sup>σ</sup>* ἥρωϊκόν

22, 3 προσωδικούς] προσωδιακούς C, Vict. *mg.* 5 ἦ τ'] *ita* C,  
 'ἥκει I' 7 ὑπὸ τινων δὲ ἰθυφάλλια] διφίλια, *suppl. mg.* ὑπὸ τινων  
 ἰθυφάλλι[a] *ante* διφίλια 9 οὐ βέβηλος] *ita* C. *sed mg.<sup>σ</sup>* *add.* συμ-

[βέβηλος]



23, 1 ἐργασίης] C *mg.* ἐργασίας, *sed* εὐργεσίης C 4 μέλος] γένος C 8, 9 *desunt, spatio relicto satis idoneo*

24, 1 νέκυες] νέκυσ C 2 τύχεα C 8 τε] *deest* 11 χρώ-  
ματα] ὀνόματα C 12 ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθήσομαι] ἀναγκασθήσομαι δὲ C  
14 καὶ] *deest, suppl. ex l Vict.*

25, 1 τὰ] *deest* 8 ἡ] *deest*

26, 3 ἐπεὶ] ἐπειδὴ C 6 Αλιάττου C, Ἄλυσος C 9 ταύτης]  
ταύτην C

27, 1 ἐναγώγιον C 4 Παφλαγόνων καὶ Συρῶν C 7 ἐσπλέοντι  
C, *Vict. mg.* 10 αὐτῇ] *ita* C 15 τοῦτο *ante* τὸ σχῆμα C

28, 1 ἀγεννὲς *hic et ubique* C 4 εἰς] ἐς C, *mg.* *Vict.* θηβαίων C  
*ante corr.* 5 Διόνυσος] *sine interpunctione* C 7 τῶν] *deest*  
8 φανερόν πεποιηκέναι C 9, 10 οὐ δοκεῖ τις ἀμαρτεῖν C, *Vict. mg.*  
12 μικρόν καὶ ῥύσον C

29, 1 ἡδὲ] ἡδὲ καὶ C, *mg.* Παρέλκει 2 ῥαῦδω C 3 θῆκεν ιδέσ-  
θαι] C *mg.* παρέλκει, *cf. mg. Vict.* 7 καὶ ταπεινὰ καὶ πτωχὰ C

9 τοῖτω] τοῦτο ἦν ὁ C, *mg.* σχεδὸν *post* ἦν 10 τῷ] τὸ C

30, 1 δ'] δ' ἐν C 2 τι] *ita* C, *Vict. mg.* 6 καλανδιαῖν (*sic*)  
7 Ἡγησίαν Μάγνητα] ἡγησιάνακτα C, *Vict. mg.* (?) 8 εἰ *ante* τὰ  
ὀνόματα C

31, 2 τῷ...Στωϊκοῦ] *ita* C *mg.* 3 τούτου] *ita* C *mg.* : τοῦτο C  
4 ἀρμονία χείρονι C 6 αὐτῶν] *ita* C *mg.* : αὐτῷ C 8 τέχνας]  
τέχνας γε C 8 ἔγραψαν C 9 πολλοὶ ἢ μᾶλλον] πολὺ τι C  
10 ἀπεπλάγχθησαν C 12 ἐγὼ γοῶν ὅτ' ἔργων C 15 τόπου] *ita*  
C *mg.* : λόγου C ποιουμένους C 17 ὑπ' οὐδενὸς εὐρῶν τῶν]  
ἐφημένον ὑπὸ οὐδενὸς αὐτῆς ὁρῶν τῶν γοῶν C

32, 1 συναχθὲν] *deest* 3 συντάξεως] *ita* C 6 συντάξεως] τ *in*  
*lit* C 10 ᾗ] καὶ C 14 αὐτῇ] αὐτῇ C *Vict. mg.*

33, 1 τινὶ] μοι C, προχωρεῖν C 3 προϋθέμην] *ita* C *mg.* : *add.*  
πορευοίμην C 1 4 κωλύσει C, *Vict. mg.* 5 παρελθεῖν] C *mg.*  
προελθεῖν 6 μὴ] *deest* 10 ἡγούμεν] πρῶτα ἡξίου C, *Vict. mg.*  
πρὸ] *deest* 11 οὐσίαν] *ita* C *sed mg.* αἰτίαν 12 τῇ φύσει]  
*desunt, suppl. mg.*

34, 3 παράσχοι τις ἂν C 4 ἐναντίως συντεταγμένα] *desunt,*  
*suppl. mg.* 7 μεν] μοι C 8 καὶ *deest* 9 Ἀχιλλεύς C  
10 ῥήματα] τὰ ῥήματα C ὑποτέτακται] ἔπεται C 11 αὐτῶν]  
ταύτην C 12 δέ] *deest* 13 πρότερον τάττειν] προτάττειν C,  
*Vict. mg.* 13 πρότερόν ἐστι] ἐστι πρότερον C

35, 3 καὶ] *deest, cf. mg. Vict.* 8 γὰρ] γὰρ δὴ C, *Vict. mg.*  
τῶν] ἅμα τῶν C 9 οὐκ] *om. suppl. mg.*

36, 3 *τε χείρω* C 4 *post ῥημάτων add.* C οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι cf. *mg.*  
*Vict.* 5 *ῥῆμην* C 6 *τῇ τάξει καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις* C 7 *ταῦτα* C

12 *νῇ δία φαίη τις ἂν εἴ γε μὴ ἀλλὰ ἦν πολλὰ* C

37, 1 *ἦ] ἦν* C *mg.* 3 *πληξέε δ'* C 6 *ἦλασε δ'* C 8 *προσ-*  
*ήκει]* *προσῆκεν* C, *η* *in ras.* 9 *τὸ]* *om. suppl. mg.* 10 *καὶ]* *deest*  
 12 *ἀντωνυμίας]* *ἀντονομασίας* C cf. *n. ad p. 8 v. 10* 13 *ἐγκλινομένων*  
*C, mg. Vict.* 14 *ἡγείται* C

38, 1 *διεσάλευσεν]* *διεσάλεινεν* C 2 *ἀπέφηνε]* *ἀπέφαινε* C  
 4 *ἀλλ']* *ἀλλὰ* C *mg.* 5 *τῆς]* *τῆς τοιαύτης* C, *Vict. mg.* 14 *φιλο-*  
*σόφοις τε]* *καὶ φιλοσόφοις* C

39, 5 *λέγω]* *λέγων* C 10 *ποιήσσει φαίνεσθαι* C 11 *εἴ τι]* *τί*  
*C, suppl. εἰ* C *mg.* 13 *πως]* *πῶς* C *mg.* 14 *δύναται ἕκαστον* C

40, 1 *ἔρω σαφέστερον* C 2 *τέ]* *deest* 7 *δεῖ]* *δῆ* C 11 *αὐτὸ]*  
*τὸ αὐτὸ* C, *Vict. mg.* 13 *ποιεῖν]* *add. C mg.*

41, 2 *πάντων]* *ita* C, *sed* C *mg.* πάντα *ὁμοίως]* *ὁμίως* C, *mg. in*  
*quodam manuscripto codice loco huius reposita erat haec nota* *ῥ* *quae*  
*id ualebat* *πέφυκεν ὁμίως* C 7 *κρείττω, ω* *in ras.* 3 *litt.* C 8 *πό-*  
*τερον]* *πότερα* C 9 *εἴ τινα]* *τίνα* C, *μοx ἀρρένων, C mg.* *εἴ τινα,*  
*ἀρσενικῶν* 11 *ἀρρενικὰ* C, *Vict. mg.* 12 *τὰ]* *deest* *δὲ]* *τε* C,  
*mg. Vict.* 13 *ἔσται λαμβανόμενα]* *λαβόμενα* C, *ἔσται add. C mg.*

42, 2 *καθ' ἐν]* *ita* C *mg.* 3 *δεῖ]* *δείται* C *μετασκευῆς]* *ita* C  
 4 *ἐναρμονιώτερον]* *ἀρμονιώτερον* C *eras. ἐναρ-*

43, 1 *συναλοιφαῖς]* *ita* C *mg.* : quamuis in manuscripto legatur  
*διὰ τὸ d mendose quidem :* (*συναλοιφαῖς* C) 2 *μόρια]* *τὰ μόρια,*  
*παρακέκρουκέ]* *ita* C *mg.* 3 *καὶ ὁ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐποίησεν ἐποίησε λέγων*  
*C, aliter mg. Vict.* 4 *καὶ...λέγων]* *desunt, suppl. mg.* 10 *συν-*  
*θετικῆς]* *συνθέσεως* C *mg. cum Vict. mg.* 11 *πρῶτα]* *deest :* *μοx τὰ*  
*στοιχεῖα* C

44, 2 *ὥς]* *ὥστε* C 3 *ἐνδέχεται* C 3, 4 *προσκατασκευάσαι τε*  
*καὶ εἶπον τι δέοι* C 7 *ἦ...τεθὲν]* *desunt :* *suppl. C mg.* 8 *καὶ*  
*σεμνότητα...λαβὼν]* *καὶ σεμνὸν λαβὼν* C, *sed mg.* *καὶ σεμνότητα·* *ἐτέραν*  
*δὲ τινα συζυγίαν λαβὼν.* 9 *ἀσεμν' φαίνεται καὶ ἄκαρι* C 13 *ὑμεῖς]*  
*ἡμεῖς* C *ἡ μόνῃ ἐλπίς]* *ita* C *mg.* *sed ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπίς* C

45, 1 *τις post λύσας* C *ταύτην τὴν συζυγίαν* C 2 *ὑμεῖς τε]* *ἡμεῖς*  
*δὲ* C 3, 4 *ἡ μόνῃ]* *ἡμῶν ἡ* C 4 *ἔτι om. suppl. ad mg. m. pr.*  
 6 *δαί]* *δ'* C *ταύτην λέξιν* C 8 *χάριν τούτων* C 12 *ὁμίως* C, *mg.*  
*Vict. 'γρ. ὁμοίως'* 15 *ποδαπῇ* C

46, 1 *τῶν νοημάτων]* *ἀπάντων νοημάτων* C, *ἀπάντων ὀνομάτων mg.*  
*Vict.* 2 *τὰ δὲ ὥς διαφοροῦντες]* *ita* C, *sed post ἐπιτάττοντες (v. 4) :*



mg. Vict. 3 ὡς εὐχόμενοι] *ita* C Vict. mg. 'fort. defecit ὡς<sup>1</sup> ut sit ὡς εὐχόμενοι, ut in reliquis.' 7 οὖς] *deest*

47, 1 εἶπας C, Vict. mg. 4 ἐγράψαμεν C<sup>1</sup> 5 ἀν] δ' ἀν C 9 μὴν] μὲν C<sup>1</sup> 12 τε] *deest*

48, 1 προσ θήκη (-κη *a m. alt.*) C ἀναγκαῖα C<sup>1</sup>, ἀναγκαῖα *corr.* sic 4 τοξεύῃ] *post h. v. add.* ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐχ ἡ (οὐχὶ || C<sup>2</sup>) τοῦ ἀναγκαίου χαριν (*v in ras.*) πρόσκειται τοξεύειν ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ τελευταῖον κῶλον, τὸ κὰν μήπω βάλλῃ C, *ita* mg. Vict. *ex l.* Cf. Usener Index Schol. Bonn. p. xi βραχύτερον] τραχύτερον C 6 χαριέστερον] *ita* C mg.<sup>σ</sup>

49, 5 τί δὲ δὴ τὸ] τὸ δὲ δὴ C<sup>1</sup> : *corr. m. alt. add. ad mg.* τὸ 8 ἐπαινούμενον] *ita* C mg.<sup>σ</sup> 11 τρία] *ita* C mg.<sup>σ</sup> Ἡ C 12 ἡδίων] *deest* : ἡδείαν C mg., ἡδείω C mg.<sup>σ</sup> 13 πρόσσεστι] *ita* C mg.<sup>σ</sup>

50, 1 τῆς ἀφαιρέσεως δὲ C 3 χαριεστέραν, C mg. χαριν ἑτεράν, ποιεῖ C ἐρμηνείαν] ἁρμονίαν C 4 οἷα περ] οἷα, C *add. mg.* περ ἐν] ἐν μὲν C, Vict. 11 χάριν ἔχει] ἔχει χάριν C

51, 2 δυοῖν] πρώτων δυεῖν C αὐτοτελῇ] *ita* C mg.<sup>σ</sup> *eras.* ἀτελῇ 3 εἰ ταῦτα] εἴ τις αὐτὰ C 4 ἐπιτηδείων] *ita* C mg.<sup>σ</sup> 7 λόγον] πρῶτον C 9 μοι] μοι καὶ C 10 ταύταις] ἐνταῦθα C, *μοx τὰς τε προηγουμένας καὶ τὰς ἐπομένους* C 11 ταύταις *deest.* ὅταν] ὅτ' ἀν *ferre semper* C 12 ταῖς] *deest*

52, 4 εὖ] *deest* 8 ἐστὶν *ante* ἀνθρωπίνων *inserit* C 10 ἡγή-σται τις] ἡγήσεται τις C<sup>1</sup>. *mg. corr.* ἡγήσασθαι [τις] *a m. pr.* 13 ἡ καλῶς μὲν] *om. add.* C mg.<sup>σ</sup> οὐ μὴν ἡδέως γε C, Vict. mg.

15 ἡ γέ τοι C, Vict. mg. ἡ] *deest ante* Ἀντιφώντος

53, 9 ταῦτα] *post* ἐστὶ C τὰ κράτιστα C 11 τὸ πρέπον C 16 τοιούτοις] τοιούτοις C

54, 3 μέλος ἢ μέτρον C 12 ἐπάνειμι] *ita* C mg.<sup>σ</sup>

55, 1 δὲ] δὴ C 4 παρέξω C, Vict. mg. 8 τούτων *post* ῥυθμῶν, *δὲ post* τούτων<sup>2</sup> C 11, 12 ἀπάντων ἐστὶν C (-ν C<sup>2</sup>) 12 ἐμμέλειαν C

15 ἔκρουσε C<sup>2</sup> διέφθειρεν C

56, 6 πάθους] πάθος C, Vict. mg.

57, 1 διακούνονται] διοικούνονται C 4 ἐν ψδαῖς γοητείας] *ita* C<sup>1</sup> mg.<sup>σ</sup>

11 τῆς ἐν ψδαῖς] τοῖς ἐν ψδῇ C 16 ἥττον] τὸ ἥττον C

59, 1 πέρα] *ita* C mg.<sup>σ</sup> '1' παρὰ C, Vict. mg. 2 πλέον C

60, 1 γε ἡ] *desunt*

61, 1 ἡ δ'<sup>2</sup>] *ita* C mg.<sup>σ</sup> αἱ δ' C, Vict. mg.

62, 4 βαρύτητός τε C 5 πολλυσυλλάβοις C mg.<sup>σ</sup> οἰαί ποτ' ἀν ὥσιν] εἰ καὶ ποτ' ἡλικ' ἀν ὥσιν C

63, 3 τῶν] ἐκ τῶν C, Vict. 8 ἀποπρόβατ' ἔκεισε ἀπόπρομοι-



- κοίτας C 9 ἐφ' ἐνός] ἐφ' ἐνός C 14 τίτετε C<sup>1</sup> (v. 7 τίτετε C<sup>1</sup>)  
 15 μετὰ ταύτην C  
 64, 1 τοῦ] τοῦ τε C Vict. *mg.* 2 αἰ] *deest* 5 τῆς] ἡ τῆς C,  
 Vict. 8 παρείληφε...συλλαβὰς] *desunt in S<sup>b</sup>, παρείληφεν C*  
 10 αὔξουσai] παραύξουσai C, Vict. *mg.* 14 δὴ] *ita C mg.<sup>o</sup>*  
 18 συμμετριάζουσα] συμμετρία σώζουσα C, σώζουσα συμμετρία S<sup>b</sup>  
 65, 2 διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων ταῦτα] διαφέρει ταῦτα ἀλλήλων C, *mg.*  
 Vict. 4 παρὰ αὐτὴν τὴν C  
 66, 2 τινες αὐτὴν] *verso ordine C mg.: τινες—λεαίνουσι] om. suppl.*  
 C *mg.* 10 αὐτῶν τισὶ ἀτοπίαν C *mg.<sup>o</sup> omisit C<sup>1</sup>* 11 τὰ μαλακὰ C  
 12 εὐπρόφορα] *ita C mg.<sup>o</sup>* 14 πολλά... 16 λαμβάνοντα] *desunt*  
*in S<sup>b</sup>.*  
 67, 1 προσίστανται] *προίστανται C, "obsunt, Halic. p. 518, idem*  
*in Isoer."* Vict. *in Lex. Monac. Cod. Gr. 174* 4 φυλαττόμενον]  
 φυλασσομένους C 14 ὁμοίων γενῶν I C, C *mg.* P. c. ὁμοιογενῶν,  
 'puto ὁμοιογενῶν' Vict. *quae est lectio Epitomae*  
 68, 7 ὅλως] ὅλος C 11 οἶμαι ἀπτε ταῦτα γε C *mg.<sup>o</sup> a m.<sup>1</sup>*  
 13 τὰ] ἡ τὰ C *corr.* 14 γλυκαίνεται τε] *γλυκαίνεται C*  
 69, 6 ἐπικρύπτουσι C, Vict. *mg.* 8 καὶ] *deest* 12 δεῖν] *add. C*  
*mg.<sup>o</sup>* 14 ἡ μιὰρὸν] *desunt* 15 ἔχον] *om. suppl. C mg.<sup>o</sup>*  
 70, 1 δ] *ita C in ras.* φ I C<sup>1</sup> 3 παρακελεύσομαι C 9 ἀπὸ]  
 ὑπὲρ C 10, 11 ὡς κεφάλαια. εἶεν καλὴ C. 13 ἡδεῖα] ἡ ἡδεῖα  
 C *mg.; ita Vict.*  
 71, 1 καὶ] *deest, ita Vict. non 'I'* 3 πιθανὸν] *ita C mg.<sup>o</sup>*  
 7 ἡ τε] ἡ C  
 85<sup>1</sup>, 11 ἐκφέρωνται C 12 ἦτοι] *spatio relicto 2 vel 3 litt. eis*  
*τι C*  
 87, 1 βραχὺ... 2 γράμμα τῶν] *om. suppl. C mg*  
 88, 1 ἀνάλογον] ἄλογον, C. *Prouocat in mg. librarius ad 55, 5 :*  
 5, 1: Cic. Orat. c. 60 *itaque fere Vict. in mg. sed alia exempla*  
*colligit ex Dionysio. De lectione haec scribit Vict. 'γρ. ἄλογον',*  
*'ita locus notatur in k tanquam lacer ac mancus in l. macula ut*  
*puto erat in uoce ἀνάλογον, nam desiderari nihil uidetur'. Hic certe*  
*C ab l dissentit, cum 'γ' congruit. αἰσθησιν ἔχουσαι C 'γ'* 6 μεί-  
 ζονα C Vict. 11 ἐπὶ...12 γραμμάτων *om. suppl. C mg.*  
 89, 7, 8 μέτρων ἢ ῥυθμῶν C 10 τῶν ἐν] *desunt.* 12, 13 παρὰ]  
 περὶ C 14 πᾶσα] *inest* 17 γίνεται C τῆς<sup>2</sup>] *deest, cons. Vict.*  
 18 τε] *τε καὶ C*

<sup>1</sup> For the discrepancies between C and F in c. xiv. see n. 6 on p. 75.

- 90, 2 τὴν] *deest* 4 ὄσαι] *iness*, cf. Gölner p. 98, *de Victorii*  
MSS. 8 δὲ] *deest* 10 μὲν] μὲν τῶν C  
91, 2 τὴν δία] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>s</sup>, διὰ τὴν C  
92, 2 προκυλινδόμενος C 5 ἡρεμίαν] ἡρεμίαν C *mg.*<sup>s</sup>  
93, 3 δ' ἢ] δὲ C ἑκτασις] *ita* C<sup>1</sup>, ἑκστασις *post corr.* C  
8 πρὸς χρῆμα] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>s</sup> 13 ῥόγχει C  
94, 1 πνοιῆς C 5 ἡμᾶς (-ās) *post καὶ θετικούς* C 7 διανοίας]  
τοῖς διανοίας C: τῆς διανοίας *Vict.*  
95, 1 τε] *deest* 4 μιμητικὰ] μιμήματα C *mg.*<sup>s</sup> 5 ἡρεμίας]  
ἐρημίας C, *corr. mg.*<sup>s</sup> 7 νέμω] *om. suppl. mg.*<sup>s</sup> 8 εἰσαγαγόντι C  
96, 1 καὶ ἄλλοθι] ἄλλῃ C 3 παρὰ μὲν] *verso ordine* C  
4 σύνθεσις] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>s</sup> 7 γίνεται] *deest* πολλῇ...εἶναι] *desunt*,  
*suppl. mg.*<sup>s</sup> *in* 'I' *desunt*, 'est c. mendosus' *Vict.* 9 γραμμάτων C  
ἡδεῖαν τε] ἡδεῖαν δὲ C, τε *sustulit* *Vict.* 11 τε] *suppl. mg.*<sup>s</sup>  
97, 5 ἐπαγωγὸν] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>s</sup> 6, 7 χρήσεται...μαλακωτάτοις] *om.*  
*suppl. C mg.*<sup>s</sup> 10 ποιήσει] ποιήσει τὴν C  
98, 3 εἶγον] εἶδον C (εἰ *in lit.*): *mg.* *Vict.* 'εἶδον, *ita legitur ap.*  
*Homer.*' 4 διὰ] μετὰ C, με- *in ras. a m.*<sup>s</sup> 7 καὶ] *om. suppl. mg.*  
10 γοργῶ C  
99, 3 λείας C  
100, 6 οὐδὲ] οὐτ' C 7 δὲ] τε C 9 ἄν] *om. suppl. C mg.*  
101, 8 μικρὰ C 8, 9 χρηστὸν ἔσεσθαι φησιν] χρήσιμόν φησιν C  
10 εἶρηται *ante* τῷ ἀνδρὶ C  
102, 3 Βοιωτικῇ C  
103, 9 ἅπας ἐστίν] ἅπας γὰρ ἐστίν C  
104, 11 μὴ] *om. suppl. C mg.*  
105, 3 ἀρχόμενος *post βραχείας* C 4 λῆγον *bis* C 8 νεόχυτα]  
*ita* C *corr.* 12 κείναν] *semel tantum agnoscit* C  
106, 3 οὐκ<sup>1</sup>] *deest* 5 δὲ τοῦ] τοῦ μὲν C, τοῦ μὴν 1 (?) 8 κή-  
δεοσι C 9 ῥυθμὸς C 13 χορείος] *deest*  
107, 2 ἐστι] *deest* 4 δ' αὐτὸν] *om. suppl. mg.* C 5 διαβε-  
βηκῶς ὡς] διαβέβηκεν C 10 εὐσχήμεων C, *corr. mg.*<sup>s</sup> 11 δια-  
κεκόλασται *ante corr.* διακέκλασται C *mg.*<sup>s</sup>  
108, 4 πράγμασιν] γράμμασιν C 5 παραλαμβάνεσθαι] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>s</sup>  
6 κεφαλᾶς C 9 εἰς κάλλος ἁρμονίας] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>s</sup> cf. *Vict. Ar.*  
*Rhet.*<sup>2</sup> p. 617  
109, 2 πόσῳ] ὅσω C 5 ἄλογον τοῦτον] ἄλογον C, α *in lit.*  
τοῦτον] *ante* χωρίσαντες C, *post* χωρίσαντες *Vict.*, 'sed postea deleuit'  
8 κύκλον] *deest*, κυκλικὸν C *mg.*<sup>s</sup>, 'I'. 9 ἄν] *deest* 11 συνέστηκε  
μὲν] συνέστηκεν C 12 γινομένης C

110, 3 πλωταῖς] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> ἀπήναισι (-σσι) C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 4 δὲ] *inest*  
5 ἡ βραχεῖα C 6 συμβῶμεν] *ita* C (ω) 7 δὲ] *deest* τοῦτο] *ἔστι*  
τὸ C 7 σεμνολογίαν] *Vict. Rhet.*<sup>2</sup> 618 σεμνότητα λογίαν

111, 1 πρώτη τεθῆ] *ita* C 2 καὶ] *deest* 3 τίν' ἀκτὰν] *ita* C  
10 ἔσται δύο C 12 τὰ πείω (*sic*) C. 13 ὑπήχθην] ἡ *in ras* C  
14 μετρικῶν καὶ ῥυθμικῶν C

112, 2 ὅτι] ὅτι μὲν C, *Vict. mg.* 3 γίνεται] γίνεσθαι C, *corr.*  
*mg.*<sup>σ</sup> *una cum nota huius uerbi tachygraphica* 6 λαμβάνονται C  
7 συμπλέκονται] συμπλέκοντ || C, ω *in ras. a man. rec.* 'γρ. συμ-  
πλέκονται' *mg.* *Vict. C ante corr. habuit fortasse συμπλέκοντες vel*  
*συμπλέκονται (l)* 8 τῶν] *deest* 14 οὐδὲ] οὐ C ἀπελαύνεται C  
15 ὥσπερ...ἐμμέτρον] *om. suppl. C mg.*

114, 1 τὸν λόγον τόνδε] λόγον τόνδε C, *Vict.* 'v. tr.' 7 ἀξιο-  
ματικοί... 8 διὰ ταῦτα] *insunt in C, 'absunt ab l'* αὐτῶ] *deest*  
10, 11 ἔχει τοὺς...εἰτ' αὐθις] *insunt: ἔχει...πόδας om. l* 12 ὑφ' ἧς]  
*ὑφ' ἧ ut uid. C ante corr.*

115, 8 δὴ καὶ] δὲ C 10 μὴ] τὰ μὴ C: *ita* Sadée p. 173  
12 λέξιν...ἀξιωματικῇ] *om. suppl. C mg* 14 καὶ] *deest* 15 ῥυθ-  
μῶν...περιβοήτων *suppl. C mg.*<sup>σ</sup> φανερόν καὶ περιβοήτον C

116, 6 λαμβικόν C 8 ὅτι] *om. suppl. C mg.* 9 προσήκεν] *ita*  
C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>

117, 3 ἦ] *deest* 12 εὐμέλειαν] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 14 παρέλασσε] C  
*mg.* *uerba fortasse alicuius poetae haec sunt.* παρήλασεν ἂν C  
Δημοσθένη C 15 εἵνεκεν] C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> ἕνεκα

119, 7 τοῦδε] *deest* 8 ἕτερος] *om. suppl. C mg.* 13 εὐνοῖαν  
(*sic* C), 'est dactylus si an ut correpta capiat' *mg. Vict.*

120, 1 αὐτὸν] C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> αὐτὸν, αὐτῶν C, *cum l congruens.* 4 ᾧ  
*συνήπται in ras. C. in mg. asteriscus* 5 ο] *deest* 7 εἶναι] *deest*  
9 τῶν] *deest: om. Vict.*

121, 1 κατακεκλασμένος] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 2 ἦ] καὶ C

122, 1 καὶ μέσος καὶ τελευταῖος C, *Vict.* 3 πότερα C 4 ἦν  
*post παχύτης C* 9 τὸ] *deest* 11 ἔοικε δὲ] *ἔοικεν δὲ C*

123, 2 ἐμπεσὼν *ante ἂν τις C* 7 τί δε] *ἔστιν δ' C* 9 ἐχυρόν]  
*ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> *corr.* 15 ἐλαύνειν C, *et in ras.* 17 ὅψει φοβερώτερα  
C. ω *in ras.*

124, 3 ἀπαντᾶν εἰσιῶν C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 5 εἰς τὸ τολμᾶν] *add. C*  
*mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 7 οὕτως] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> *mox συγκαμφθεῖς.* 10 ὑπὸ] ἐπὶ C  
*Vict. mg.* 13 ἐπίμπρατο] ἐπιτίμπρα C, ἐπὶ παλαιαῖς C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>  
*itaque S<sup>b</sup>*

125, 1 ἐξέστησεν] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> *mox τολμήσαντος C mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 3 βασι-



λέα] *ita* C, *sed* *mg.*<sup>o</sup> βαίστιον, βαίστιον αὐτοῦ S<sup>b</sup> αὐτῶν C 4 φιλότος  
C 6 μέγας γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸ χρῶμα μιμήσας S<sup>b</sup> βεβούλευτο C *corr.*  
7 ψέλιον C

126, 1 αὐτοδηνολέγω· τὸ συνάγον C. *Vict. mg.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> (*cum*  
*asterisco*) αὐτοδηνολεγοντοσ συνάγαγον 4 κοῖτος C 5 ἀνέφαινε  
C *Vict. mg.* 9 τελετήν, καὶ τόγε πάθος C 10 ἐκείνου] ἐκεῖνο C

127, 4, 5 ἔδησε...ἀναβὰς] *om. suppl. mg.* C 8 ἐν] *om. suppl.*  
*mg.* C

128, 2 κεκόνιστο C, *Vict. mg.* 8 σμῆχοιτο C *Vict. mg.*  
11 ὥς] *deest* 14 μὲν] *eras. post* αἷτιον C

129, 3 ἄσμενος] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 4 ἥτις οὐ λυπήσει] *om. add.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
7 τήν] *deest* 10 τήν...καλὰ] *desunt* 12 καὶ] *deest* μοα  
υένοντα C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 13 δ' ἐν] *δε* C

130, 1 Αὐτίκα τοῖς (*in ras*) μὲν C 2 τοῖς] *deest* 8 τε] *deest*  
10 τὰς] *deest* τοὺς ἀντιστρόφους C *mg.* ἀντιστρόφους C

131, 2 ταῦτ' ἔξεστι] ταῦτά ἐστιν C 6 ἂν] *deest*, ἀπαρτήσωσι  
8 δ'] *deest* 13 αὐτὰς] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 16 τῷ αὐτῷ C

132, 3 οἷγε δὴ] οἷ γε C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 1, οἷ τε C

133, 2 ἀρμονίας] ἀρμονίας C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 4 ἦ] *deest* 5 ἦ] τι, *add.*  
*mg.*<sup>o</sup> ἦ 13 ἦ] *deest* 15 τήν'] *om. suppl. mg.* ἀμήχανον] *ita*  
C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 16 καὶ] *om. suppl. mg.* 17 εὐρωτέραις] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
πολυδεστέροις C, πολυδεστέροις *corr. m. rec.*

134, 3 ἐν λόγων] *desunt, add.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> ἐν λόγον, ἐν ἀγωνιον (-ον a m.<sup>o</sup>)  
χρεῖα C μοα οὐχὶ ἦ C *om.* γε 8 εἰς περιόδου] *om. add.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>;  
*mg. Vict.* 11 κατὰ] *ita* C 13 ἐκείνων C οὐκ ἂν' ἐλαττόνων  
C<sup>1</sup> οὐκ *om.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 14 τῶν ἄλλων, γίνεται] *add.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>

135, 2 ἅπασι] *deest* 3 ἔργον] *om. suppl. mg.* 6 πάνν] σφόδρα  
*post* δεομένη C 9 λεγέσθω] γενεσθω C, *corr. mg.*<sup>o</sup> 12, 13 ὥσπερ  
ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων εἴη τις ἂν ἥ μὲν πρέπουσα C

136, 5 ἐνθυμώμεθα...παρалуπῇ] *ita fere* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> παρалуπῇ C  
*mg.*<sup>o</sup> 6 παρалуπείν C 8 μυρία...αἷτια] μυρία ἄλλα ἐστιν, ὅσα  
τις ἂν C 12 τὰ] *deest* 17 ποιητὴν τε] ποιητὴν C, *Vict.*

137, 4 καίτοι] καίπερ C

138, 1 τοῖτοῖς] αὐτοῖς C 2 ἡμῖν *post* διαφέρειν C

139, 2 ἐπὶ] *inest* 3 οὖν] *δε* C 10 τοῦ πέτρου] *om.* C  
πέτρου C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>

140, 3 οὐ γὰρ εἰκῇ] οὐκ ἂν εἰκῇ γε C, γὰρ *add.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 7 μακραι]  
*deest* 14 τί δὲ] τι δήποτ' οὖν C 15 πολλοὺς] πολλοὺς τοὺς C

141, 7, 8 τῶν μελῶν] *insunt* 10 πευρωμένης *ante* τὰ γινόμενα C  
14 γὰρ] *inest*

- 142, 4 συγκатаκεκυλίσθαι C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 7 ταύτην] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
 ἰδεῖν ἄξιον ἔστιν C 11 ἔπειθ' ἔπειτα C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 12 μακραι] *inest*,  
*cetera ut in* l 13 κατασπᾶσθαι C *μοχ* συντελεῖσθαι C<sup>1</sup>, *corr. mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
 143, 4 γίνεται] *deest eras. fort.* γχ *in mg.*, *ita mg.* Vict. 5 δι-  
 ἰστάναι C 6 διηρημένων] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 13 οὐτοί γε] οὗτοι  
 144, 8 ἠδεῖαν καὶ καλὴν C 11 ἐλάττω τ'] ἐλάττω C 13 πρὸς  
 ὑποθήσομαι C 14 μαρτυρίοις C  
 145, 5 διευκρινῆσαι C *corr.* Vict. *mg.* *μοχ* τοῖς πολλοῖς C 6 τὴν]  
 τὴν μὲν C, *mg.* Vict. 8 λόγῳ] *deest* 13 διαφορὰς πολλὰς C  
 15 λογισμὸν] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 16 ἴδιον.. χαρακτῆρα] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
 146, 11 αὐτὰς] αὐτοὺς C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
 147, 3 τὴν] *deest, ita* Vict. 5 νήτης, τῆς ὑπάτης C 13 καὶ]  
*deest, ita* Vict.  
 148, 2 περιφανείας] περιφανίας C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 4 διασθάσεις C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
 7 μῆτε] μὴ C, Vict. 8 βάσεις... διαβεβηκόσιν] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 9 ὀνό-  
 μασιν] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 14 οὐχ ἦττον] ὁμοίως C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> *add m.*<sup>2</sup> ἢ οὐκ ἦττον  
 16 τοὺς] *deest, ita* Vict.  
 149 1 οὐτ'... ἀπλᾶ] *ita fere* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> αὐτὰ] *om.* C *add.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
 6 οὐτε] οὐδε C 8 ο] *deest, suppl.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 13 post τὴν πραγ-  
 ματείαν, ἔχουσα ἐπίτηδες οὐδεμίαν, ἐπὶ τῆς C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
 150, 1 ἀγχίστροφος C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> *pro* ἀντίροπος C l 2 ἀναρθρος] *ita*  
 C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 3 ὑπεροπτικῇ] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 4 ἀκόμψεστον C, ἀκόμψεστος  
 C *mg.* 5 ἔχουσα κάλλος] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 6 δὲ] *deest, ita* Vict.  
 7 πολιτικούς] *inest* 8 ἐπικῇ] C, *mg.* Vict. *aliter* l 9 Ἐμ-  
 πεδοκλήης] Ἀλκμέων C  
 151, 3 ἀν ἀήδης] *uerso ordine* C 4 διωπικιλλόμενος C  
 5 φαιήσεσθαι] C *mg.* φανείσεσθαι: φαίνεσθαι C<sup>1</sup> 6 παραγγελ-  
 ματικὸν C ἀνέλεγκτα] οὐδ, ἀνεξέλεγκτα C  
 152, 1 παραληφθεὶς C 3 δὲ] δὴ C διθύραμβός τις] διθύραμβος  
 4<sup>1</sup> δυντ' C, δλύμπ/ιοι C  
 153, 1 κλυτὰν C οἱ ἄσπεως C (*mg.* οἱ τ') 2 πανδ' / δαλόν C  
 3 ἰοδέτων C λάβετε] λάχετε C 4 τῶν ἐαριδρέπτων] C *mg.* τάν τε  
 ἀριδρέπτων: *sed* ἀντεαριδρόπων C Διόθεν τε με] *ita* C *mg.* διατέ-  
 θεντε C, *ante corr.* δι' ἀέθεντε ἀλγαία C  
 154, 1 πορευθέντ' αἰοιδὰν C, *sed* C *mg.* πορευθένταις αἰοιδᾷ<sup>2</sup> κισσοδαῇ  
 C 3 τε<sup>1</sup>] μὲν 4 ἐν Ἀργεανεμέφ C 4, 5 φουνικοσαων ἰν *uas.* C  
 5 ὅπ' οἰχθέντες C, ὦραν C 6 ἐπάγοισι C τοτ<sup>2</sup>] τοτ' C  
 7 ἄμβροτον] μ *europa scr.* ἐρατέων φοβερόδα τε C 8 ἀχέιτε C

<sup>1</sup> Discrepancies between C and F (the latter as collated for Bergk's *Lyric poets*) are here mentioned.

ὁμοφῶ C 8, 9 οἰχνεῖτ' ἐς Σεμέλειαν C 11 μετρίως αὐτε τὰς ἀκοὰς  
C 13 τῷ] *deest* τῆς ἁρμονίας C καὶ οὔτε] οὐ τὸ C, οὔτε τὸ  
C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>

155, 2 αἰσθησιν ἔχοντες] *verso ordine* C, *deinde* περὶ λόγου τινὸς  
αὐτοματισμῷ C<sup>1</sup> *quae desunt suppl.* C *mg.* 4 αὐτοματισμῷ δὲ C  
5 χρησάμενα C, α *in ras.* 2 *litt.* ἐγὼ] ὃν ἐγὼ C 6 δεικνῦναι C  
8 δυνεῖν C 13 ἀντίτυπον τε] καὶ ἀντίτυπον C

156, 5 ἐκατέρων C, *Vict.* 7 δέ μ' ἔδοξε C *rynè]* *deest*  
11 τούτῳ] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦτο C 13 ἐν αὐτῷ] ἐν *add.* C  
*mg.*<sup>σ</sup> αὐτῷ C

157, 3 προτάττεται] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 4 τοῦ] τῷ C 6 αὐτοῖς *ante*  
ἀποδιδούσα C 7 τοῖς ἔπειτα συνδέσμοις C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 8 εἴτε] εἰ C<sup>1</sup>,  
εἴτ' C *corr.* α *m.*<sup>2</sup> 10 τραχείαν] -ν *in ras.*, et 4 *uerba sqq.* 11 μὲν  
εἶναε] μὲν C βραχεῖα|| C 13 καὶ ἡμιφώνου καὶ φωνήεντος C  
15 Δυσέκφορον] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>

158, 1 ποιήσει C βραδὺ] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> βαρὺ C 2 τραχὺ] *ita*  
C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>, ταχὺ C 4 τὸν *deest* 5 τούτου] τοῦ στόματος C, *mg.*  
*Vict.* *aliter* 1 7 σχήματος] στόματος 8 ἔκφερον C<sup>1</sup> 10 ἥχος]  
ὁ ἥχος C 12 μύσαναντος στόματος C, *om.* στόματος *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> οὐδὲν]  
ονδ' C 13 ἡ ἐνεργούσης C 14 λαμβάνοντες C

159, 1 δὴ] δὲ τὸ στόμα] *om.* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> μοx τὸν σχηματισμὸν  
3 δι' οὗ συνίσταται] δι' ὧν (*in ras.*) συνίσταται C, ἐν ᾧ διίσταται C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>.  
4 τε καὶ εὐπέες C 5 πέμπετε C 8 τὸν διορισμὸν] C *mg.* ἐρεισμὸν,  
διορισμὸν C 14 ν] *om.* *suppl.* C<sup>2</sup> *mg.*, εἴτ' C<sup>1</sup> τῷ]  
τὸ C.

160, 1 ἀποδίδωσιν] *inest* τῇ] τῷ C, *mg.* *Vict.* τῷ] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>  
τὸ C ἥχον] C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> (ῆ-) 5 τραχεῖα κἀνταῦθα] *om.* *suppl.* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>  
8 ἡ] ὁ C *mox* τε *deest* 11 μεῖζον *in ras.* συναλειφουσα] *ita* C  
*ante correct.* 12 δυνεῖν C 13 γουν] γε C<sup>1</sup>, *corr.* *mg.*  
14 ποιήσεις C

161, 2 δύο ἡμίφωνα] *uerso ordine* C, *mg.* *Vict.* 3 μὴ] μήτε C  
12 διειρημὸς C 14 ἔχοντος τούτων C -ος *in ras.* 16 διαθετέντε  
C<sup>1</sup>, διατεθέντε C *corr.* *eras.* *postea* οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰ. λήγοντι,  
τὸ ἴδετε πορευθέντα

162, 1 Ἀλγαῖα C 2 πορευθέντα· οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι μόνον, *lectionem*  
*uere prodigiosam,* C

163, 5 ἦσαν εἰς αὐτὸν C

164, 4 ἐπὶ πλείστον C 5 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν C 6 ἀδύνατα C  
7 ἐπὶ μακρότερον C 12 ἀεὶ *deest* 14 ἀδεῶς *deest* 16 οὐδὲ  
γῆν φυτεύοντες] *desunt*



165, 2 τῆς] τῆς τε C 3 ἀπανίστατο C 4 μὲν] *om. suppl.*  
C *mg.* 6 δλιστένουσα διὰ τῆς C 7 ἐκφαίνει C<sup>1</sup> 10 εὖπαι-  
δεύτους C 11 τοῦτό] *deest* τε C 12 εἰς μὲν] μὲν C, [ὅτι μὲν]  
εἰς τὴν *mg.* C 13 συγγραφῇ C<sup>1</sup> *ante corr.*

166, 1 τίνα] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 2 ἀνὴρ C 3 εὖπινῃ] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>  
3 ῥαδία γὰρ ἔσται C, *mg.* Vict. 5 μεταβαίνουσιν C, *ad mg. corr.*  
7 ἐφαρμοττόμενον] *ita* C *mg.* ἐφαρματούμενον C 9 γινομένην] *suppl.*  
C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 8 δὲ] *inest* 12 τοῦτο] τοῦτον C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 13 ἀλλήλας C,  
ἀλλήλαις C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>

167, 1 τὸν πόλεμον] *om. add.* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 3 οὐθέν C οὐχί] *ita*  
C *mg.* οὖν C δεῖ *in ras.* C 9 πάνι *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> πάντ' C 10 τε]  
*deest, ita* Vict. 11 τὸν ἥχον] *addit* C *quae in Ald. leguntur*  
12 τὸ προηγούμενον C 13 τουτί] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> τοῦ C 14 καὶ]  
*deest "non est in R" Vict.*

168, 3 ἐξῆς *hic et ubique* C 5 λαβεῖν φαντασίαν C 7 ἐνγ-  
γραμμον C, *corr. mg.* 12 ἀπερίγραφος, ἀνέδραστος] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>  
15 καὶ ἄφωνα ἅπερ ἐργάζεται C *mg.* 16 καὶ] *om. suppl.* C *mg.*

169, 2 εἵτις] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 3 τῶν ἐμπεριλαμβανομένων] *ita* C *mg.*  
5, 6 ἐξ...κῶλα] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> ἐξῆς ἢ πάντα ταῦτα κῶλα C 6 συν-  
λαβὰς C, *corr. mg.* 10 ὥστ'] *om. suppl. mg.* 12, 13 καὶ...  
ἀνωμαλία] *om. suppl.* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 13 σχηματισμῶν] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>

170, 1 χαρακτηριστικὰ] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> αὐστηρᾶς] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>  
ἀπελογισάμην] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 5 *nulla est inscriptio: cf. Götter*  
6 ἐπιθέμην C 7 περιφανίας *in ras.* C 10 σταθερόν C, *mox* ἀλλὰ  
κινεῖσθαι C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 11 καὶ *ante* θάτερα *deest* *mox* κατὰ τῶν θατέρων  
ὀνόματα C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 12 καὶ ὀχεῖσθαι] ὀχεῖσθαι C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 14 συνει-  
ληφθαί C<sup>1</sup>, *συνηλείφθαι* C *corr.*

171, 1 τῆς] μῆς C, τῆς *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> ἀποτελοῦντα] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 3 οὐδένα  
αἰσθητὸν C τὸν, τῶν *desunt* λαμβάνουσαι] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> περιλαμ-  
βάνουσα C<sup>1</sup> 4 τοῦτο τὸ] *desunt, suppl.* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 4 ὕφεσιν C  
5 ἐχούσαις] *om. suppl. mg.* 6 εἶναι βούλεται C, τὰ ὀνόματα C  
8 ἀπέχθεται που τὸ δὲ θρασὺ] *ita* C *corr.* 9 καὶ'] *deest* 10 δὲ]  
τε C<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ὀνόμασιν τὰ ὀνόματα C 11 καὶ συνεξέσθαι] *om. addit*  
C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 14 χρόνον] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> *mox* οὐ C, 'quamquam in  
manuscripto et excuso codice οὐ negativa particula sit, P tamen  
auctore generandi casus esse debet hic.' Vict. 'γρ οὐ.' *ita* C *mg.*

172, 2 ἀκόλιστον C, *corr. mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 3 μεγίστοις C 8 ταύτας]  
τὰς αὐτὰς C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 9 φανεράς] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 10 ἦ'] *deest* πῖνος]  
*ita* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 11 πρόσσεστιν] C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> πάρεστιν C 14 κατὰ] κατὰ τὰ  
16 αὐτῇ] ταύτῃ C, *mg.* Vict.

173, 2 νομίζω] *deest*, μοχ τουτονὶ δοκεῖ, *deinde nomina propria nominatiuo casu* 6 τ'] δ' C

174, 3 θυμὸν C

175, 1 τὸ δ' C αἵποτε κατ' ἔρωτα C 2 αὐδᾶς C πολλὰ]  
ἀπο || C

176, 1 τ' ἔκλυες C λίποισα C 2 χρύσειον C

177, 1 ἄγον C 2 ὥκεες C γὰν μέλαιναν C *corr.* 3 δινεῦν-  
τες C, ὠρανῶ θέ || C 5 Αἰψ' ἀλλ'] αἰψα δ' C 7 χῶτι C 8 Δῆν  
τε] δεῦρο C, κάλῃμι C

178, 1 κ' ὦττ' C 2 μαινο- *in ras.* C δ' ἦντε C 2, 3 πειθῶ,  
καὶ σαγήνευσαν C μοχ τίς ὦ 4 Σαπφὰ δίκησοι C

179, 1 φεύγει C 2 αἶ C δέχετ', *eras.* -αι C 3 αἶ C  
4 κοῦκ ἐθέλοισα C 5 ἔλθε μοι C 7 θυμὸς ἱμείρει C 12 τὰ]  
καὶ C 13 τε] *deest*

180, 2 καὶ φωνηέντων] καὶ ἀφώνων καὶ φωνηέντων C, διασαλεύουσιν C  
3 αἰὼν] ἐνεισιν C 10, 11 ἀλλήλοισι τὰ κῶλα C

181, 2 παρέξιν δόξαν C 3 καὶ ἀντε παντὶ C, *mg.* Vict. 5 ἐπὶ]  
ἐπὶ τῶν C, Vict. εὐκαιρίαν] εὐχέριαν C 9 αὐτὸν] *om. suppl.*  
C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>

182, 1 κατασκευασμένον C 2 ὄν] ἴτα C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> ἦ C *cf. mg.*  
Vict. τῇ] *deest* 7 αὐτῇ] ἴτα C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> αὐτῆς C 9 εἰρήνην] ἴτα  
C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> ἀγούσης] *inest* 12 ὑποτελοῦντας] *inest* τοὺς τὰς] τὰς  
*in ras.* C 13 ὑμᾶς C ἂν] *om. suppl.* C *mg.* 15 ὑμετέροισι C

183, 3 τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ C 6 τὰ κάκιστα C 8 τῶν ἀντε  
κακῶν *deest* 9 παραγίγνεται C 10 πλούθοις C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 12 ταῖς  
*deest*, καὶ σωφροσύνη C πολλῇ] *om. suppl.* C *mg.* 13 δέξαιτο]  
αὔξαιτο C 14 τούτων τῶν μερίδων C, αὐτοῦ C 15 ἴδοι γὰρ  
*om.* ἂν C

184, 1 ἐκ δὲ] ἐκ τε C 3 συνήλειπται *om.* τε C 4 οὐ καθ' ἓν]  
οὐδὲν C, *mg.* Vict. 5 οὐδ' ἐν] ἴτα C *mg.* οὐδὲ C 7, 8 πρᾶξιαι  
ῖ...προπετεῖς] ἴτα C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> πρᾶξιαι καὶ προσφνεῖς C' 13 ἀριθμοῖς]  
ῖριθμοῖς C 13 οὐδ' ἐν] οὐθ' ἐν C, *mg.* C οὐτ' ἐν, *itaque* 1

185, 1 διέλαθεν 5 εὐγραμμον] ἔγγραμμον C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> 6 ἄκρως C  
7 οἱ πολλοὶ] πολὺ C 10 εἶναι μοι] εἶναι C

186, 2 συνθέσεως C ὅσα γε] *insunt* 3 *inscriptio deest*  
δνεῖν C 4 σπάνει τε] ἀντὶ C, σπάνει C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> μοχ τε καὶ 6 δέ  
πως ἐξ ἐκείνων] ἴτα C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> (πῶς), δὲ ὥς ἐξ ἐκείνου C 8 ἐπεὶ δὲ C ἀντε  
*corr.* μὲν ἐστὶ] μὲν τις C; *corr.* C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> ἐστὶ 10 τε ἀντε δοκεῖ C  
δοσοι] οἱ C 12 ἰδίας] ἴτα C *mg.* εἰδικᾶς C 13 πολλὰς] *post*  
διαφορᾶς C

- 187, 3 πως] περ C 5 ἄν] *deest* 6 αἰοιτο C ταῖς γλαφυ-  
 ραῖς] ἀνθηραῖς C 8 ἐκείνῳ] *deest*  
 188, 1 τῶν] *deest* 2 φέρειν] *inest, sustulit annotator, deinde se*  
*correxuit* 4 εἰ δέ τινι] *ita fere C mg.<sup>c</sup>* εἰ δ' ἔτι μοι C 7 αὖ τοῖς]  
 αὐτοῖς C 8 τῶν ἀπάντων] τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν C 9 οἷς] οἱ C μέλει C  
 10 οὐκ] *deest* ἐπιπόνον] *ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup>, ἐπίπονον C, Vict. mg.*  
 11 ὄντος] *ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup>, ὄντως C*  
 189, 4 λέξις ἄμετρος] *ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup>, πεζὴ λέξις C* 5 ποιήμά γε]  
 ποίημα C 10 ἐφ'] *deest* τοῖς] ἐν τοῖς C  
 191, 1 τοὺς τε] καὶ τοὺς C, Vict. ἀγῶνας τοὺς δημοσίου] *desunt*  
 2 ἄρκεσει] ἄρμόσει C  
 192, 1 μῆτε ἰδίας C 2 κατηγορήσαντα C  
 193, 1 τουτουῖ] *ita C corr.* 2 οὕτω C ἐπι τούτῳ] *desunt*  
 εἰς] *deest*  
 194, 1 ἄρα ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ C 2 τὴν] *deest* ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς C  
 3, 4 περὶ τούτων ἐστὶ μοι νῦν C 5 δὲ] δὴ C περὶ] ἐπὶ C  
 6 *desinit* Codex Laur. LIX. 15

C 194, 6—*end.* The principal readings in C, S<sup>b</sup>, and E<sup>b</sup> are  
 here presented.

- 195, 3 ἐπιθέσθαι] ἐπίθεσθε C *mg.*, *ita* 'v' Victorii 3 γέλωτα  
 CS<sup>b</sup> 5 οὐδ' ἄτοπον CS<sup>b</sup> 7 ἐγκειμένη] συγκειμένη CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>  
 8 μούσαν] οἶμαι C, *ita post* μελικὴν E<sup>b</sup>, Vict. 'v': οὔσαν S<sup>b</sup> 12 ποί-  
 ησις εἰς κόρον, C  
 196, 1 ἄλλοι τε καὶ C 2 οὐ δὲ] *ita C<sup>o</sup> mg. S<sup>b</sup>:* οὐδὲ C<sup>i</sup>  
 3 τῆς] *deest in C, δὲ τῆς S<sup>b</sup>* 4 ἔστω] *ita Steph. ωραία Ald. C*  
 ὥρ S<sup>b</sup>: C *mg.<sup>σ</sup>* φ' ἴσως· ὠρίσθω, cf. *mg.* Vict. C 'γρ. ὠρίσθω addito  
*compendio φ'* 6 ἐπιδεικνυμένης] *ita C corr. a m.<sup>2</sup>:* ἐπιδεικνυμένοις  
 C<sup>i</sup> S<sup>b</sup> 9 ἐγκατατεταγμένους CS<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup>, ἀδύλους CS<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> 13 εὐμελὴς  
 C *post corr.* 16 παραλαμβάνουσα S<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> 17 καὶ *ante* κατὰ  
 στίχον *add. C mg. E<sup>b</sup> et Vict. mg.*  
 197, 1 αὐτῶν] *om. suppl C mg.: ita mg. Vict. S<sup>b</sup>* 11 πᾶσαν]  
 πᾶσαν εἶναι CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> ἔμμετρον] ἄμετρον CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> 12 Δημοσθένην  
 C, S<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>, κεκρήσθαι φημὶ CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>  
 198, 1 προσῆκεν CS<sup>b</sup> 2 ἄν] τις CS<sup>b</sup> 6 ἀναγκαῖον] ἂν δίκαιον  
 CS<sup>b</sup> 7 μέλλει S<sup>b</sup> ἐπανθήσειν] ἐπ- *post corr. C, fuit ἀπ-*  
*fortasse* ἀπανθήσειν S<sup>b</sup> 8 αὐτῆς] τις αὐτῆς CS<sup>b</sup> (τίς S<sup>b</sup>)



199, 3 ὑμῶν] *om. suppl. C mg.*<sup>a</sup> 4 προσλάβοιτο C *corr. πρὸς*  
*λάβοιτο C*<sup>1</sup> 5 τετραμμένον C<sup>1</sup> *corr. mg.* 7 δὲ] *om. C* 8 τὴν  
 ἀρχαίαν C *mg.*<sup>a</sup> S<sup>b</sup>

200, 2 ἔστω] ὅρα S<sup>b</sup>, ὥριστο C, ἴσως ὠρίστω C *mg.* 'γρ. ὠρίσθω'  
*mg.* Vict. 3 τούτῳ] τοῦτο CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> διαλύσειε] δηλείσειε C,  
 διαλείσει C *mg.*<sup>a</sup>, δὴ λύσειε S<sup>b</sup>, διαλύσειε E<sup>b</sup> τις] της C<sup>1</sup>

201, 1 ἀκριβῶς] *om. CS*<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> 3 ἐλαφρὰ ποδῶν CS<sup>b</sup>, ἔχνε' C, ἔχνη  
 C *mg.*<sup>a</sup> S<sup>b</sup> Vict. *mg.* 4 ἐὰν] *om. CS*<sup>b</sup> 5 ἂν εὖ γνώμης C<sup>1</sup>, ἂν  
 εὐγνώμης C<sup>a</sup> 6 κατηγορήσαντα C 8 μέτρων] μερῶν CS<sup>b</sup>  
 9 ἐπὶ τούτῳ] *om. E*<sup>b</sup> εἰ γε τοι C, εἰ γέ τοι S<sup>b</sup> 10 Σαπφικὸν τις  
 C, S<sup>b</sup> 11 ἦν] νῦν C, νῦν S<sup>b</sup> ὃ γαμβρέ τοιαῦτα CS<sup>b</sup>

202, 3 ὄτ' ἴτα CS<sup>b</sup> 5 τοὺς τε] τοὺς τε C, τε *om. S*<sup>b</sup>, *cf. Usener*  
 5 ἐμβαλὼν] ἴτα C, ἐκβαλὼν C *mg.*<sup>a</sup> S<sup>b</sup> Vict. *mg.* 7 ἦν] νῦν,  
 τοιαῦτα C 8 σωφροσύνην C 12 ἀπέχθειάν *deinde omisissis*  
*sequentibus* τινα CS<sup>b</sup>: *quae desunt suppl. C mg.*<sup>a</sup> 13 πόδα προσλα-  
 βὼν C *mg.*<sup>a</sup> 14 ἀπέχθειάν τινα C *mg.*<sup>a</sup>

203, 2 τούτῳ] τούτων CS<sup>b</sup> 3 ἱαμβιον C, ἰάμβειον S<sup>b</sup>, ἱαμβεῖον  
 C *mg.*<sup>a</sup> E<sup>b</sup>, ἴτα *mg.* Vict. 4 τοῦ ἄρα] τοῦτο οὖν C, C *mg.*<sup>a</sup> ἄρα *pro*  
 οὖν 6 παρεμπεισόντος CS<sup>b</sup> 7 παραλαμβανόμενον C *mg.* ἴτα *mg.*  
 Ald. 9 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ C, τὸ αὐτο C *mg.*<sup>a</sup> 10 τὴν] *om. CS*<sup>b</sup>  
 χερρόνισον C<sup>1</sup> *corr. mg.* 11, 12 Εὐριπίδῃ τῷ βασιλεῦ' CS<sup>b</sup>  
 12 πολυμόλου C, πολυμάλου S<sup>b</sup> πεδίον] παιδὶ CS<sup>b</sup>, 'K' Vict.  
 πεδίον 'p' Vict.

204, 1 μέρος] *om. C* κώλον μέρος τουτὶ] τουτὶ κώλον, *om.*  
 μέρος, S<sup>b</sup> 2 μέτρον CS<sup>b</sup> 4 αὐτῆς ἐν μέρει] ἴτα C *mg.*<sup>a</sup> ('αὐτῆς),  
 αὐτῇ μέρει C ταυτὶ] ταῦτα τί CS<sup>b</sup> 6 καὶ πολλὰ] *om. CS*<sup>b</sup>  
 8 ἀνάμειστα] ἀναλύεσθαι CS<sup>b</sup>, *correperat* Vict. *in mg.* 9 μόνον]  
 μύθον S<sup>b</sup> οὕτω] αὐτῇ C, S<sup>b</sup> 12 πάντων] τῶν πάντων S<sup>b</sup> 13 δὲ]  
 δὴ C *mg.*<sup>a</sup> S<sup>b</sup> 14 παιᾶνά C, παίωνα S<sup>b</sup>

205, 1 τῶν] ἴτα C, τὸν S<sup>b</sup>, τον C *mg.*<sup>a</sup> μοε συγκειμένον CS<sup>b</sup>:  
 'γρ. τὸν...συγκειμένον' Vict. 7 τα τε ἄλλα C<sup>1</sup> *corr. C mg.*<sup>a</sup>  
 8 πᾶσιν] παση C, ἅπασιν S<sup>b</sup> ὥρισται] ὥριστο C, ἐν S<sup>b</sup>, ὥρισται  
 C *mg.*<sup>a</sup>, φ' Vict. *mg.* 8, 9 αὐτοσχέδιον μάλα καὶ CS<sup>b</sup> 10 τοῦ]  
*om. C* ἵνα] ἵνα δὲ C, ἵνα δὴ S<sup>b</sup> 13 παίων S<sup>b</sup> 15 ὑμῶν]  
 ἡμῶν C

206, 1 κατακεκλασμένους] κατακλωμένως CS<sup>b</sup> 10 ἐπιτηδευμάτων  
 C, *corr. mg.*

207, 3 ὁ] *om. S*<sup>b</sup> ὅταν] ᾗ Ald. ὅτι ἂν S<sup>b</sup>, ὅταν C *mg.*<sup>a</sup>, *mg.*  
 Vict. 'ρ'. sic in R.' ὁμοίως C, .φ. (αὐ ὅτε) C *mg.* 3 γράφοι CS<sup>b</sup>  
 7 τὰ μήκη... 8 τῶν ὀνομάτων] *om. CS*<sup>b</sup> 8 ὀνομάτων] ἴτα

Steph., *sed ῥημάτων* Par. 1798 *unde eum haec traxisse putat* Usener.  
*vide* p. xii. n. 12 12 δὲ] δὴ S<sup>b</sup> 13 ἀποκρούσεται τοιαῦτα C  
 ἀποκρούσεται ταῦτα S<sup>b</sup> 15 τοσαύτης δόξης CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>, ἀνὴρ ἡξιωμένος S<sup>b</sup>

208, 2 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν CS<sup>b</sup> 3 παραλαμβάνειν CS<sup>b</sup> 4 ἔχειν CS<sup>b</sup>  
 9 ὁ μὲν γε C, ὁ μὲν γε S<sup>b</sup> cf. 604, 13 10 ἀποφαίνουσιν ἐν] *om.*  
 CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>. *An haec vv. ex Par. 1798 inseruit Stephanus? Tacet* Usener.  
 συνετάξαντο C 12 διέλειπεν S<sup>b</sup>

209, 2 καὶ τὰ] τὰ S<sup>b</sup> 4 τῆς] τὴν S<sup>b</sup> ποx τῇδε 5 εἰς Πειραιᾶ]  
 πειρεᾶ C 'Αρίστωνος] Κεφάλου CS<sup>b</sup> 8 μήτ' ἐννόημα] *om.* CS<sup>b</sup>  
 13 φέβλια C, φλέβια S<sup>b</sup> 15 τὴν τῆς τέχνης ἀκρίβειαν S<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> δη]  
 τε δὲ C, τε δὴ S<sup>b</sup> Vict. 'v'

210, 1 τις] τις ἂν CS<sup>b</sup> 3 αὐτῶν C 4 πεσεῖν CS<sup>b</sup> 5 δὲ ἡ  
 χρόνιος S<sup>b</sup>, δὲ ἡ χρόνιος C<sup>i</sup>, δὲ οἱ χρόνοι ὡς E<sup>b</sup> 6 μελετωμένον CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>  
 9 ἐνεργία C<sup>i</sup> 10 καὶ θαρίζειν C 13 καὶ] *om.* CS<sup>b</sup> 15 ὅτε  
 ἡ πολλὴ ἀσκήσις αὐταῖς εἰς φύσεως ἰσχὺν (ἰσχὴν C) κατέστησε τὸ  
 ἔθος CS<sup>b</sup>

211, 6 ἐκλαμβάνομεν S<sup>b</sup> 11 ὅταν τε C 15 πᾶν] πᾶν C  
 212, 4 κεκρατημένως CS<sup>b</sup> 8 τε καὶ C 10 ἔχω λέγειν S<sup>b</sup>

11 ὅπερ C 12 τῶν ὀνομάτων C 13 τὸν δὲ] τὸν δὴ S<sup>b</sup>  
 213, 5 ἀλλήλοισ C, ἀλλήλαις S<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> 8 ἔξεστι CS<sup>b</sup> 13 δια-  
 λύσσει CS<sup>b</sup> 16 ἐμβάλλουσιν CS<sup>b</sup>

214, 1 συμμέτρους] πολυμέτρους CS<sup>b</sup> 4 ὁμοειδοῦς CS<sup>b</sup> 12 ὡς  
 ἄρα C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup>, Vict. 'p', ὡς ἰδίαν C

215, 1 τῶν] *om.* C 3 τὸ δὲ πολιτικῶν C πολλὸν τὸ] τὸ πολὺ  
 CS<sup>b</sup> 4 ποιημάτων] ἴτα CS<sup>b</sup> 6 αὐτὸ] *om.* CS<sup>b</sup> 11 ὁ] ὁ τοῦ  
 CS<sup>b</sup> καλεῖται] ὁμοίως καλεῖται CS<sup>b</sup> 12 ἀμάρτοι] ἴτα C, *om.* S<sup>b</sup>  
 14 οὐδὲν...ταραττόμενος] ἴτα C, Vict. 'p': *om.* S<sup>b</sup>

216, 2 μὲν] *om.* CS<sup>b</sup>

217, 1 οὖν] *om.* S<sup>b</sup> 2 ταῦτ'] *om.* C 4 ἕτερον δὲ] *om.* S<sup>b</sup>  
 5 χῶρον ἂν C 6 τεμνον C, τέμνοντος S<sup>b</sup> *supra scr.* -a 10 ἡ οἶ]  
 ἴτα C, οἶ || οἶ E<sup>b</sup>, οἶ οἶ S<sup>b</sup> 12 ἡμισιχίων CS<sup>b</sup> 14 δὲ] δ CS<sup>b</sup>  
 16 τὸν τρίτον ποιοῦν C, τὸν τρίτον ποιοῦντα S<sup>b</sup> 17 ἔπειτ' αὐθις...  
 ἤμενον] ἴτα C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> (-ροδόμῳ), 'p': *om.* S<sup>b</sup>, ἀφηρημένον τοῦτο οὐ συνεκ-  
 τρέχον οὐδὲ τοῦτω C<sup>i</sup>

218, 4 καὶ] καὶ κατὰ C, κατὰ S<sup>b</sup> 8 ἐποίει] ἴτα C *mg.*<sup>σ</sup> Vict. *mg.*  
 ἐποίει CS<sup>b</sup> 13 τὸν λόγον] *om.* S<sup>b</sup>, τὸν *om.* C 16 ταυτί] *om.* C

219, 3 κώλου C 4 ὥστε πέτραι C, S<sup>b</sup> (πέτρων), πέτραι 'p' Vict.  
 δυσχεαίμερον S<sup>b</sup>, δεισχημέρων C, ἡ ἰν *ras.* 6 τὸ] τὸ δὲ C 8 μεί-  
 ζονα] *om.* S<sup>b</sup>

220, 1 αὐτῇ CS<sup>b</sup> 8, 9 ἐνθα μητέρες ἐμὴν ὠδίνων σε ἐπυθύναι S<sup>b</sup>

221, 3 δὲ] ἴτα C, δὴ S<sup>b</sup> 4 ταῦτα] om. S<sup>b</sup> 5 τῆς] om. C  
6 ἀντίστροφον S<sup>b</sup> 7 διειρόμενος] ἴτα C, εἰσειρόμενος S<sup>b</sup> ἦ] om. C  
8 δ' ἂν ἦ S<sup>b</sup> δαδαλαῖα C

222, 1 βρέμῃ] τ' ἐμῇ C, τε μὴν S<sup>b</sup>, κινειθεῖσα C 2 ἔριπεν CS<sup>b</sup>,  
ἀδῖαν ταῖσι C, ἀδιάντησι S<sup>b</sup> 3 πέρσει CS<sup>b</sup> 4 χέραν C τε· ᾧ]  
τ' ᾧ C, εἶπε τε ᾧ τέκος S<sup>b</sup> 5 οὐδ' αὐταῖς ἐγαλαθηνώδει θεικνο-  
ώσσεις C, οὐδ' αὐταῖς ἐγαλαθηνώδει κνωώσσεις S<sup>b</sup> 6 δύναντι C,  
δούρατι S<sup>b</sup>

223, 2 κυναίῳ C, τὰ δ' εἰς αὐλέαν δ' OS<sup>b</sup> (τά C) 4 περίοντος C  
5 φθόγγον CS<sup>b</sup>, πορφυρέα C 6 πρόσωπον καλὸν πρόσωπον CS<sup>b</sup>  
7 ἦν] ἦ C ἦ S<sup>b</sup> 8 κέκεν C, λεπτῶν OS<sup>b</sup> 9 εἶδε C, εἶ δὲ S<sup>b</sup>  
10 εἶ δὲ τῷδ' ἐπόντος, εἶ δὲ τῷ ἄμετρον S<sup>b</sup> 11 ματαιοβουλία C,  
μεταβουλία S<sup>b</sup> 13 τεκνόφι δίκας] κνοφιδίκας CS<sup>b</sup> μοι] σύγγνωθί  
μοι CS<sup>b</sup>

224, 4 αὐταῖς] αὐτὸν ταῖς CS<sup>b</sup>, αὐτὸν S<sup>b</sup> 6 γε δίχα CS<sup>b</sup> 8 ἦ]  
om. CS<sup>b</sup> C τέλος τοῦ Διονυσίου.

A. B. POYNTON.



## CRITICAL NOTES ON VALERIUS FLACCUS.

I. 848 sq.                      tum porta quanta sinistra  
poena docet maneat Pelian quo limine monstrat.

Baehrens read '*quod* limine *monstrum*,' Langen '*quae* limine monstra.' Better than either would be *quor...monstra*. Here, as so often elsewhere, Valerius has Virgil before him Aen. 6. 285 '*multaque praeterea uariarum monstra ferarum | Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque biformes e. q. s.*

III. 332 sqq.

interea innumeras nudatis montibus urgent  
certatim decorantque pyras et corpora maesti  
summa locant: uadit sonipes ceruice remissa,  
uenatrix nec turba canum pecudumque morantur.  
funereae que cuique manus, quae cura suorum,  
quae fortuna fuit.

For *funereae* Thilo proposed *inferiae* excellently, but discommended his emendation by removing the stop at 'morantur' and altering the next words to 'quod cuique genus.' With the old correction, a simple change of spelling, we have

inferiae, quae cuique manus, quae cura suorum,  
quae fortuna fuit.

The sense is: 'offerings were brought to the several dead corresponding to their valour (cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 879 '*inuicta bello dextera*'), the affection of their friends or their fortune (means).' For '*cura suorum*' cf. Thuc. 2. 34. 2 *ἐπιφέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἣν τι βούληται*.

448 sq. . . . . ite perempti  
ac memores abolete animas.

*animos* 'resentment' is required by the sense; but I cannot find that it has yet been proposed, though the less obvious *minas* has been suggested.

613 iamque morae impatiens cunctantes increpat ausus  
Tiphys et oblato monet otia rumpere cursu.

It is just possible that Valerius ventured on *ausus*, acc. plur. (= *ausa*); but it is safer to read *orsus*, a rare equivalent of *orsa*.

v. 468 sq.            postquam primis inhiantia dictis  
agmina suppressumque uidet iam murmur Iason,  
talìa miranti propius tulit orsa tyranno.

For *propius* Baehrens suggested *promptus*; but we should read *properus*.

VII. 32 ille autem iam iam uultus uocesque parantem  
ante aperit rumpitque moras inque ipsa morantis  
prosilit ora uiri talique effunditur ira.

*parentem*, so most recent editors rightly read, is incompatible with *aperit*, for which we should surely read *RAPit*. Its *e* may have got into the text in the same way as in *parentem*, which V reads in the line immediately preceding.

338 'occidis, heu, primo—potes hoc durare?—sub aevo  
nec tu lucis' ait 'nec uideris ulla iuuentae  
gaudia nec dulces fratris pubescere malas,  
hunc quoque qui nunc est crudelis Iasona nescis  
morte perire tua, qui te nunc inuocat unam,  
qui rogat et nostro quem prima in litore uidi?'

V fails us here. The Monacensis has 'o crudelis,' Vaticanus 1653 and the Codex Carrionis 'primaueus.' Could anything be more wretched than qui nunc est 'who is now alive'? Corrupt though it is, it conceals the truth, *primaueum*. In

the common ancestor of these codices *primeuū* was corrupted to *quinūcē*, but afterwards corrected. Thus:

qui nūc ē \* crudelis            \* primeuū

The correction was neglected in one branch of the tradition, and in the other, in the form 'primaeuus,' it ousted the equally genuine *crudelis*. The combination of the two traditions gives an excellent sense:

hunc quoque primaeuum, crudelis, Iasona nescis  
morte perire tua?

VIII. 147 sqq.

quid terris solam te credis Achaeis?  
quis locus Inachias inter tibi, barbarā, natas?  
istane uota domus expectatique hymenaei?  
hunc petii grandaeva diem?

In 148 *natas* must be corrected to *nvptas*. The mother of Medea, the drift of whose thoughts is indeed sufficiently indicated by 149 'uota domus' and 'hymenaei,' anticipates what the runaway daughter later realizes herself; Eur. *Medea* 591 (addressed to Jason) οὐ τοῦτό σ' εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ βάρβαρον λέχος | πρὸς γῆρας οὐκ εὖδοξον ἐξέβαινέ σοι. Baehrens has removed the same corruption from Prop. 2. 9. 17.

J. P. POSTGATE.



# EMENDATIONS OF QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS.

THE MSS. may be briefly described thus: P first, M second (M contains only books I—IV 10 and XII), the rest inferior but often valuable; in some instances they preserve even whole lines which are absent from P.

The older editors were not acquainted with the readings of P; I depend for them upon Zimmermann's edition (Teubner).

A remarkable feature of the text is the frequency with which the ends of lines are corrupt. I shall make a good many suggestions at the ends of lines, and entreat my reader, if I get one, to consider carefully the following examples of corruption before he goes on to what I have to say for myself.

- i 9. ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἴαψεν MP, ἀπέταμνε κάρηνα cet.
- 18. ῥεέθρων MP, ῥοάων cet.
- 247. δούρατι μακρῶ MSS., δούρατι τύψας Spitzner.
- 257. ἦτορ MSS., αἰών Rhodomann.
- iii 621. λεχέεσσι versu infecto MP, λεχέεσσι μυγῆναι cet., M<sup>2</sup>,  
δαμάζειν Rhod., δαμάσσαι Koechly.
- v 313. ἄλλοι MSS., ἀλκήν Zimmermann.
- vi 328. ὀρώρει MSS., ἵκανεν Rhod.
- vii 307. θαλάσσης MSS., θύελλαι Rhod.
- viii 234. κελαινὸν PV, καὶ ἰδρώς cet.
- ix 451. κοπέντα MSS., κοπεῖσαν Rhod.
- 539. πόληα. PVE<sup>1</sup>, κέλευθα cet.

Considering these and many other instances which might be adduced, I must needs conclude that the archetype had

suffered a good deal at the right hand side of the page. Hence I have in several lines proposed readings which would be too bold changes anywhere except at the end.

Moreover the editors make all sorts of changes which are pretty violent, all over the line; we are not dealing with a carefully preserved text at all here, but with one which moth and rust hath devoured. Perhaps the real difference is that we have a text which has not been edited and doctored into seeming correctness by Alexandrine or other nefarious predecessors of ourselves.

i 12. Ἐκτορά θ' ὥς ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀμφείρυσσε πόλῃ.  
πόλῃα. If there were any doubt, compare i 112, xiv 133.

i 37. ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀν' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν ἀστράσι δια σελήνῃ  
ἐκπρέπει ἐν πάντεσσιν ἀριζήλῃ γεγαυία  
αἰθέρος ἀμφιραγέντος ὑπαὶ νεφέων ἐριδούπων.

Koechly has a long note to defend ὑπαὶ (for which he writes ὑπό). He proves what no one has ever denied, that ὑπό νεφέων may mean "from below"; he does not prove that either moon or ether can be spoken of as moving "from below" the clouds. Tycho's ὑπὲκ does not improve things. Why not ὑπέρ? Take it with ἐκπρέπει.

i 93. ἡ δ' ἄρ' ὑπέσχετο ἔργον, ὃ οὐποτε θνητὸς ἐώλπει.

So MSS., and so Koechly in his first edition, but afterwards he went astray and has lured Zimmermann after him by reading ὃ τ'. But ὃ is right; cf. Homer γ 275:

ἐκτέλεσας μέγα φέργον ὃ οὐποτε φέλπετο θυμῷ.

If any change *were* needed, ὃ γ' would be better. Quintus admits hiatus quite freely if he is or thinks himself warranted by Homer.

i 186. κλυθι, πάτερ, καὶ λαὸν Ἀχαικὸν ἡματι τῷδε  
δοῖς πεσέειν ὑπὸ χερσὶν Ἀργιάδος βασιλείης,  
καὶ δὴ μιν παλίνορσον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα σάωσον.

καὶ δ' ἡ μιν M, καὶ δ' ἡμὶν P, καὶ δὴ μιν cet. Koechly declares

that ἡμῶν will not do, in which I agree with him, but objects to δὴ μιν on the ground that if καὶ δὴ is temporal it is neither sense nor according to the practice of Quintus, and if it is defended (as by Naegelsbach) by Homer A 161, that "non quadrat" neither. No, but it may be defended another way. In the passage which Quintus plainly has in mind, Z 306, we read :—

Ἔαξον δὴ ἔγχος Διομήδεος, ἥδ' ἐ καὶ αὐτὸν  
πρηνέα δὸς πεσέειν κ.τ.λ.

That is what Quintus is following with unequal steps, and that is why he has stuck in his δὴ here ; he has made a mess of it ; true, but he generally does. The modern vulgate is Hermann's καὶ δ' αὖ μιν, which seems to me worse than ever.

i 253. λῦσε μῶρος ψυχὴ δ' ἐμίγη πολυαέσιν αὔραις.

Correct δὲ μίγη. So at 621 e.g. Quintus says ὦκα μίγη (not ὦκ' ἐμίγη) to preserve the natural caesura in the third foot, which Koechly somewhere remarks should be given whenever possible<sup>1</sup>. So also at i 547 read δὲ βάλεν, iii 682 τε βάλον, iv 439 δὲ βάλεν, v 652 restore δὲ γάννυτ' from P and other MSS., vi 61 πρόσθε φάμην, vi 631 τε βάλεν, x 430 με λίπεν.

i 420. ἢ οὐχ ὁράατε γυναῖκα μέγ' αἰζηῶν προφέρουσαν ;

What the reading of P is I do not find stated, M has ὁράτε with the accent crossed out, the rest ὁράτε. ὁράατε Rhodemann, ὁραῶτε Tychsen. Spitzner abuses the last, but apparently he and others seriously think that ὁράατε might be scanned as a third paeon. Read ὁράασθε.

The only justification I can find for ὁράατε is the corrupt line (Hesiod Opp. 241) ὅς τις (κεν Aeschin. in Ctes. 135) ἀλιτραίνει (-νη Aeschin.) καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάται (MSS. of Aeschines vary between μηχανάται and μητιάται). The right reading is plainly ὅς τις ἀλιτραίνει—μηχανάται (cf. Monro Hom. Gr. §§ 266, 362). Quintus would certainly never have thought of imitating this.

i 472. οὐ τι. Read οὐτε.

<sup>1</sup> Compare e.g. viii 343, ix 265, 484, x 105 (MSS.), 487, xiv 627 (MSS.).



i 509. κλαγγὴν γὰρ στονόεσσαν ἐσέκλυεν οὔασιν οἷσιν.  
ἐσέκλυεν M, ὑπέκλυεν cet. (P?). Read ἐπέκλυεν, a word used by the poet at vii 30, 344, xiii 34, xiv 620(?), whereas he never says ἐσκλύειν. Indeed it is doubtful if there ever was such a word at all.

Cf. i 98, ἐπάκουσεν MP, ἐσάκουσεν cet.

i 621. ἡ δ' ὦκα μίγη κονίη καὶ ὀλέθρῳ.

I was rather pleased with myself for conjecturing *κονίη τε λύθρῳ τε*, the latter being a favourite word of Quintus. I find the same conjecture made by Koechly who afterwards condemned it as bad, and defends the text by Nonnus xxxvi 212, ὀμίλειε γείτονι ποτμῶ, and xxxviii 210, ὀμίλησεν ὀλέθρῳ. But these passages are nowise parallel. The objection to the line of Quintus is the extraordinary mixture "dust and death"; no one would have minded his saying *μίγη ὀλέθρῳ* or *μίγη κονίη* separately, but the two together are mere comedy. Nonnus says nothing about *κονίη* in either passage, nor anything like it. I think therefore that *λύθρῳ* must be what Quintus said. But I. T. Struve remarks that he always uses the dative of *κονίη* in the plural; hence he proposes *κονίης*. Are we not then led rather to suppose that the original was *κονίησι λύθρῳ τε*? The *τε* dropped out at the end of the line, and then the rest was badly corrected to *κονίη καὶ ὀλέθρῳ*.

Compare ii 355:

πολλοὶ δ' ἐν κονίησι καὶ αἵματι θυμὸν ἔλειπον  
Αἰθιόπων ὑπὸ χερσὶ Λύθρῳ δ' ἐφορύνετο γαῖα.

i 669.

πολλοὶ δ' εὐχετόωντο κατ' οἰκία νοστήσαντες  
τοίης ἀλόχοιο παρὰ λεχέεσσιν ἰαῦσαι.

So the best MSS. *τοιαύτης* (Scaliger) seems to me the best correction of *τοίης*. Penthesilea is lying dead; the Greeks are making mental reflexions upon her appearance. Koechly declares that "cum addatur κατ' οἰκία νοστήσαντες, patet bonos illos maritos non aliis agitari impudicisque libidinibus, sed id

*tantum suo jure pie optare, ut quas ante hos decem annos domi reliquerint uxores, non vetulas et subturpiculas, sed tales inventuri sint, qualem hic conspiciant Penthesileam. Hoc vero poeta τοῖς ἤς ἀλόχοιο scripsit.*" He goes on to give examples of "cumulata pronomina"; well and good, but what he does *not* give examples of is the hideous cacophony of *τοῖς ἤς*, of which I cannot believe that our poet would have been guilty. The same objection applies to Zimmermann's *τοῖς ἤς ἀλόχοισι*, and the change to the dative is based on an error. Quintus was thinking of Homer σ 213:

πάντες δ' ἡρήσαντο παρὰ λεχέεσσι κλιθῆναι.

Now Homer of course did not mean *παρὰ* to govern *λεχέεσσι*, but it is obvious that Quintus thought he did, and therefore proceeded to tack on the genitive *ἀλόχοιο* to depend on his *λεχέεσσι*; then having altered *κλιθῆναι* to *ἰαῦσαι* he flattered himself he had done enough to shew himself a truly original poet. *τοιαύτης ἀλόχοιο* then is the safest thing to keep, meaning of course what Koechly says. Then for *παρὰ* in Quintus restore *παρὰ* from the inferior MSS. on the strength of the Odyssean line. It was very likely a conjecture on their part, but if so it was right.

i 699.                      ὁ δ' ἀκαμάτῳ ὑπὸ ροίβδῳ  
ἔσσυτ' ἀναθρώσκων μάλα ταρφέα.

A great stone bowling down a mountain. *ροίζῳ* Koechly, but "whistling" is scarcely in place; he had better have suggested *ρόμβῳ*, but it is only necessary to look at the dictionary to see that *ροίβδῳ* is right.

i 736.    οὐ γὰρ τερπωλῆς ὀλοώτερον ἄλλο βροτοῖσιν  
ἐς λέχος ἰεμένης.

I do not understand how *τερπωλῇ ἵεται*. Should we read *ἰεμένων*? The change from the dative *βροτοῖσιν* to the genitive is characteristic of Quintus, e.g. i 675, "Ἀρεῖ δ' ἔμπεσε πένθος... ἀκηχεμένου. Or you can read *ἰεμένοις* if you prefer it; I incline to think the other more likely.



i 741.

φῆ μέγα νεικείων.

ῆ Koechly *ex dett.* and so also at ii 81, vii 287. Surely this is absurd; what should have possessed anyone to corrupt ῆ into φῆ? And this use of φῆ after a speech, along with a participle, is Homeric, e.g. Φ 361, φῆ πυρὶ καϊόμενος. Quintus may be allowed a certain amount of variety, poor creature, wooden though he be.

ii 49. ἀλλ' ἄγε, μηδὲ πόλῃος ἐῆς ἀποτῆλε φυγόντες  
 αἴσχεα πολλὰ φέρωμεν ἀναλκείῃ ὑπο λυγρῇ  
 ἀλλοδαπὴν περώοντες ἐπὶ χθόνα, μηδ' ἔτι πάτρην  
 μίμνοντες κτεινώμεθ' ὑπ' Ἀργείων ὀρυμαγδοῦ.

But what is *μηδέ—μηδέ*? The first cannot mean "not even" or "not either," and it cannot be construed as a connecting particle after ἄγε: one says ἄγε φέρωμεν, not ἄγε φέρωμεν δέ. We must read *μήτε—μήτε*. In 51 the MSS. give *μὴ δέ τε πάτρην* or the like; Rhodemann appears to me to have hit the mark with *ἐνὶ πάτρην*, the *ν* at the end of *πάτρην* having possibly come from *ἐνί*.

ii 79.

κείνης (γυναιξί) θυμὸν ἔοικας· ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐ τι πέποιθα  
 μαρναμένῳ πάντων γὰρ ἀμαλδύνεις θρασὺν κάρτος.

Paris is speaking to Polydamas. The beautiful *παρφαμένῳ* of Lehrs ought surely to replace *μαρναμένῳ*. Koechly says that "*παρφάμενος* dicitur, qui ira aliove animi impetu abreptum blandis prudentibusque verbis sedat et lenit." He has forgotten Homer, M 249: *παρφάμενος* *ῥεπέεσσιν ἀποτρέφεις πολέμοιο*, which words are actually addressed to *Polydamas* by Hector. I hardly think anyone can compare the whole of the two passages without being brought over to Lehrs's conjecture.

ii 230. εὖτ' αἰγὶς βερέθρουν ὑποχθονίων ἐπορούση.

Such is Zimmermann's pretty restoration of the corrupt *εὖτε γαίης μελάβρουν ὑποχθονίην*. It needs one final touch; *ὑποχθονίων* will never do; Quintus wrote *ὑποχθονίην*. Hiatus of this sort is very common in him, e.g. ii 155, *ἀνπνοσύνη*



ἀλεγεινή. However it here caused a double corruption, ὑπο-  
χθονίην in MP, ὑποχθονίοις in the inferior MSS.

ii 309. ὦ γέρον, οὗ μοι ἔοικε καταντία σείο μάχεσθαι  
πρεσβυτέριοι γεγῶτος, ἐπεὶ γε μὲν οἶδα νοῆσαι.

γ' εὖ οἶδα Hermann, περίοιδα Herwerden, φρεσὶν οἶδα Zimmer-  
mann. None of these are near the MSS.; read θέμιν οἶδα.  
νοῆσαι.

ii 323. ὥς ὄφελόν μοι  
ἀλκὴ ἔτ' ἔμπεδος ἦεν, ἵνα γνώης ἐμὸν ἔγχος.

γνώης is read by modern editors. I doubt however whether  
Quintus would have used such a form as γνώης. About sub-  
junctives and optatives the poor man is in a parlous state. The  
optative is with him a decaying mood, as shewn clearly by  
Koechly in his prolegomena; in final clauses, even after past  
tenses, he regularly uses a subjunctive unless the metre  
demands an optative. He will even use both together in  
the same final clause.

But now, if you please, consider the following passages:—  
ii 46, δίδω μὴ δαμείη, viii 21, ὄφρα μὴ ἀμπνεύσῃ ἀλλὰ φαίη,  
ix 240, ὥς δ' ὅτε σὺς ἀποσσεύησι, λέων δὲ φανείη, xiv 63, ὥς δ'  
ὅτ' ὀλωομένοισι πατρὶς φανείη, οἱ δὲ ὀρέγουσι. In all of these,  
and plenty more like them, we have the optative used, and  
used wrongly too, where it would have been perfectly easy to  
say δαμήη, φήη, φανήη. What is the conclusion? That  
Quintus did not admit such long forms of the subjunctive  
at all; he preferred even the despised optative.

So here read γνολίης.

I should have rather expected him to say ὅπως ἔγνωσ, cf.  
iv 30, v 206, 218, vii 701, but he always uses ὄφρα in this  
idiom. Apollonius also uses ὄφρα in this way. Probably  
Quintus conceived of ὄφρα as = *until* rather than *in order*  
*that*, and would have avoided ὅπως with an indicative as un-  
intelligible to him.

The only similar forms that can be quoted from him, I  
think, are δῶη (sic) at v 145, where read δοίη, and δώωσι at

vii 155. This last is the only one actually given by the MSS., and there the optative would not scan.

ii 398. For δάιξεν read δάιζεν, the aorist is nonsense: the same correction was made by Pauw rightly at vi 248.

ii 424. τῇ ἐπὶ πάντα τελεῖται ἀτείρεος ἔνδον Ὀλύμπου.  
Read τέταλται and compare Homer B 643, λ 524.

ii 453. If here and also iv 33, 46, 215, 545, vi 283, viii 163, ix 241, xi 12, ἐτέρωθι has really been corrupted to ἐτέρωθε, it is nothing short of a miracle. The sense is better suited by ἐτέρωθε in every instance, and in my opinion it should be restored again. Indeed at xi 328 I would make the opposite correction on the strength of the poet's usage and the sense.

ii 577. σῶμ' ἀναειρόμενοι μογεροὶ φορέωσιν ἑταῖροι.  
ἀναγειρόμενοι was the old reading, ἀναειρόμενοι was conjectured by Koechly and is the reading of M (and of P?). But a further change is needed to ἀναειράμενοι, for the present is wrong. The passages referred to by Koechly in illustration of the verb have every one of them the aorist.

ii 616. οὐ γὰρ ἀτιμότερῃ Νηρηίδος ἢ Διὸς αὐτῇ  
πάντ' ἐπιδερκομένη.

Spoken by Aurora. Of the corrections proposed ἢ Διὸς αὐτοῦ seems to me far the best, but Koechly objects to it because "nec articulus junctus cum participio, nec Διὸς αὐτοῦ aptum ex πάντα Quinti consuetudine commendatur." Credo. But there is a more excellent way. Put a comma after αὐτοῦ and take πάντ' ἐπιδερκομένη as quae inspiciam, not ἢ ἐπιδερκομένη as quae inspicio.

ii 628. Τρῶες δ' ἄστεος ἔνδον ἔσαν περὶ Μέμνονι θυμὸν  
ἀχνύμενοι.

It is hard to say whether ἔσαν is worse if taken as an auxiliary verb with ἀχνύμενοι or if taken separately, as "they were in the city." Read ἴσαν.



ii 651. Ἡλύσιον πέδον αἴης.

Who ever heard of such an expression? At iii 159 and vi 374 we find πέδον γαίης, the soil of earth, a natural expression enough. But you could not say the "Elysian soil of earth" or "plain of earth." At xiv 224 he says Ἡλύσιον πεδίον, as one would expect. At xi 24 also πέδον Λυκίης is easy. Even the infelicitous conjecture of Gruebenau, Λυκίης πέδον αἴης (for σχεδόν, iv 6) is reasonable compared to this. Read αἰεῖ, and let the end of the line be responsible once more.

iii 57. ὦ πόποι, ὥς ὃ γε μαίνεται' ἀνὰ φρένας.

ὅδε?

iii 67. ἀμφὶ δὲ παπτήνας ὀλοὸν καὶ ἄκρατον ὁμόκλα.

ὀλοὸν καὶ μακρὸν Spitzner, followed by Zimmermann. Heyne's ἔπος ἀκράαντον does not account for ὀλοὸν and is hardly satisfactory in itself. But I confess to finding ὀλοὸν καὶ μακρὸν intolerable; should we not read ὁμαδον κατὰ μακρὸν ὁμόκλα?

{ iii 141. οὐδ' ἄρα οἱ Τρώων τις ἐτόλμα ἐγγὺς ἰκέσθαι.

{ iv 326. ὕστερον· ἀλλ' οὐ οἷ τις ἐτόλμα ἐγγὺς ἰκέσθαι.

In the second of these two lines P has ἐτόλμαεν ἐγγὺς, and the other MSS. ἐτόλμα ἐνεγγυς, ἐτόλμα ἐγγύς Hermann. The first line has no variant. The hiatus, however, is of a kind unexampled in our poet, and the MSS. reading of iv 326 is not likely to be a mere blunder for ἐτόλμα ἐγγύς. Look now at these forms; ii 547, ἐσύλεον· ἀμφὶ δὲ Τρῶες, iii 93, μενοίνεον εὐχος ὀρέξαι, iii 382, σύλεον, vi 341, συνήντεον εἴτε βόεσσι, viii 74, ἐπέχραον· ἔγχει δ' ἔγχος, ix 128, ἐπέχραον ἔθνεα πεζῶν, xiii 160, κυδοίμεον ἄλλοθεν ἄλλον, xiii 480, κυδοίμεον ἥντ' ἀήται, xiv 522, ἐπέχραον ἄλλοθεν ἄλλα, xiv 602, ἐπέχραεν ἀνδράσι χεῖμα. Observe that in all these passages, except iii 382, the uncontracted syllables occur in the same place, before the bucolic diaeresis, and I think you will agree with me that if Quintus could say ἐπέχραεν he could and did say ἐτόλμαεν both in iv 326 and in iii 141.

Bucolic hiatus is common enough in him after a dactyl; it is never found after a spondee. vii 234 has been corrected by Spitzner.



iii 190. ὦ φίλοι εἰ ἐτεόν μοι ἀρήγετε εὐμενέοντες.  
ἀρήγοιτ' Hermann, but εἰ ἐτεόν is only used with indicative by Quintus according to Koechly and the hiatus is unobjectionable in itself. Still εἰ ἀρήγετε, as Hermann saw, does not give the right sense; read ἀρήξετε.

iii 199. ὁ γὰρ κακὰ μήσατο Τρῶας.  
Quintus never governs an accusative by such a phrase as κακὰ μήσατο. I suspect we should read Τρωσί. Cf. iv 55, μέγα δ' Ἑλλάδι μήσαο πένθος.

iii 200. καί μιν Τρωιάδες μεγάλα φρεσὶ καγχαλώσσαι  
ἀμφιπεριστήσονται ἀνὰ πτόλιν.  
καί οἱ Τρωιάδες Zimmermann, rather arbitrarily. If μιν is wrong, which I do not feel sure about, it would be better to read καὶ μὴν or possibly καὶ μέν.

iii 348. ἐκ φόνου ἀργαλέοιο νέκυν Δαναοῖσι σαώσω.  
Probably πόνου, an everlasting confusion.

iii 510. πάντη δὲ προσαγνυμένης ἀλὸς αἰεὶ  
ἄκται ὁμῶς ῥηγμῖσιν ἀπειρέσiai βοόωσι.  
αἰεὶ strikes one as the ne plus ultra of feebleness; I think that Quintus said ἄχνης and the end of the line went, and then αἰεὶ was stuck in to fill up.

iii 536. θῆκε δ' ἄρ' ἐρσήεντα καὶ εἵκελον ἀμπνείοντι.  
Koechly has a long note on iii 160, where ἀμπνείων is wrongly given by the MSS. (ἐκπνείων Rhod.), in which he shews abundantly that ἀμπνείω etc. are used of getting a respite, breathing again, as in Homer. "Praeterea ἀναπνέω bis in Quinto occurrit paullo diverso sensu, sed qui tamen ejus notioni convenit, primum I, 343 ὄβριμον ἐν στήθεσσι ἀναπνείοντες ἄρηα, tum quia respiratio certissimum est vitae signum, III, 536 de vivente". He then quotes an emendation of C. L. Struve at iii 340, ἀμπνείοντα for ἐμπνείοντα and proceeds to make the same change himself at vi 526. (At iii 368 ἀναπνείοντες does not mean "breathing" but "getting a respite", as usual.)

The case then stands thus: ἀμπνείων is exceedingly common, ἐμπνείων very rare. Of the three places where we

want the meaning of "living", iii 340, 536, vi 526, the MSS. give ἐμπνείων in two. Is not the conclusion plain? Quintus says ἀμπνείων if he means "breathing again", "getting a respite". If he means "living" he says ἐμπνείων. In this place, iii 536, the far commoner ἀμπνείοντι has supplanted the correct ἐμπνείοντι, which should now be restored.

Koehly seems to suppose that ἐμπνείοντι could only mean "breathing upon." We may hope that he has been enlightened in another and a better world.

iii 626. ἀλλά μιν ὠκύμορον ποιήσατο καὶ μ' ἀκάχησε.

Thetis is mourning over Achilles, whom Zeus promised to make ἔκπαγλον καὶ ἀρήιον, and so he did, but went and spoilt it by also making him ὠκύμορον, and so—"grieved me"? No, thank you,—so *deceived* me, ἀπάφησε. Compare 502, v 181, 422, where the same correction was made by Bonitz and Rhodemann.

Just above (622) it is ridiculous to alter γιγνομένην to φαινομένην now that the reading of P confirms the former in itself far better reading. Homer δ 417, 458, Lucian *Peregr.* § 1, etc.

iii 631. ὥς ἔφατ' αἰνὰ γοῶσ' ἀλὶν Θέτις· ἡ δέ οἱ αὐτὴ  
Καλλιόπη φάτο μῦθον.

Why Calliope *herself*? Read αὐτε.

iii 661. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕπνος ἔμαρπτε θοὴν Θέτιν.

θεῖν Bonitz, θεὸν Lehrs. I should prefer θοὸς which is a natural enough epithet of sleep when we consider that it is a standing epithet of night.

iii 666. λαμπρότατον (sic) τε πᾶσι φάος Τρώεσσι  
φέρουσα.

So MP, corrected in the inferior MSS. by transposition of πᾶσι and φάος, though the accentuation is not put right. Starting from this point I conjecture τότε for τε. The meaning is that morning was very bright for the Trojans *that* day, because Achilles had been slain the day before.

iii 714. *ἐυπνείοντες* is an abominable word. Qu. *ἐπιπνείοντες* (xiv 343).

iii 781. *ὥς εἰπὼν ἐπὶ πόντον ἀπήιεν εἵκελος αὔρη*. Posidon is the god in question, *ἐπὶ* could only mean "over the sea," but Posidon would go *ὑπὸ πόντον*, which read, comparing iv 110:

*καὶ τότε ἄρ' ἐκ πόντοιο κίεν Πηλῆος ἄκοιτις,  
αὔρη ὑπήῳ ἑναλίγκιος.*

If one can come *out of* the sea like a wind, one can go into it like one. Besides it only means "very quickly"; see v 396, xiv 223.

iv 86. *ἀλλ' ἄγε, σὺν τεύχεσσι καὶ ἄρμασιν ἡδὲ καὶ ἵπποις  
ἴομεν ἀμφὶ πόλῃα· πόνος δ' ἄρα κῦδος ὀρέξει.*

No doubt *ὀρέξει* can be construed, but it strikes me that we here want a general reflexion. This would be given by *ὄρεξε*. Cf. iv 305.

iv 179. *οἱ δ' ἐς νῆας ἄγον μέγα κυδαίνοντες  
ἀντίθεον βασιλῆα.*

As in Homer, so in Quintus, *νῆες* often means the camp. But naturally *ἐς νῆας* would mean "into the ships," and be ambiguous. Hence Quintus, if he mean "to the camp," regularly says *ποτὶ* or *ἐπὶ νῆας*, according to the metre. Thus we have *ποτὶ* at i 824, iii 2, etc., *ἐπὶ* at vi 94, 495, 607, vii 126, viii 455, ix 62, 426, x 255, xi 352, xii 80, xiv 30, 43, 57, 85, 329. But *ἐς νῆας* is only found here, and at vii 96, *ἐς δ' ἄρα νῆας ἴκοντο*, ix 326, *ἐς νῆας χάσσαντο*, xii 101 = vii 96, 108 *ἐς νῆας καὶ λαόν*. In all these four instances *ἐς* begins the line and *ἐπὶ* would not scan; moreover in two of them *ἐσίκοντο* is really one word. Hence it seems plain that in iv 179 Quintus would have said *ἐπὶ νῆας*.

iv 307. *οἶον ὅτ' ἀντίθεον Πελίην κατεθάπτομεν ἡμεῖς,  
αὐτὸς ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀκάστος, ἀνεψιοὶ εἰς ἐν ἰόντες.*

For *εἰς ἐν ἰόντες* one may compare vii 565, xii 470, also *εἰς ἐν ἴκωνται* at iv 239, xiv 565, and *εἰς ἐν* is further used at ii 559,



xi 367, xii 210, 530. Only in all those places there is some point about it; here it is wretchedly weak. I cannot help thinking the poet said ἀνεψιοὶ εὐμενέοντες (cf. iii 190), having in his mind an echo of Pindar's εὐμενέοντες ἀνεψιόν (*Pyth.* iv 127), which words he may have supposed to go together grammatically.

iv 396. τῶν δ' ἀμφιτετρυμένα τύμματα πάντα  
ἠκέσας ἐνδυκέως Ποδαλείριος, οὐνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτὸς  
πρῶτα μὲν ἐκμύζησεν.

τάχα δέ σφι τετυμμένα Zimm., but τετυμμένα τύμματα will never do. Alia alii. Perhaps τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ πεφυρμένα, possibly also πάντη. For ἀμφὶ πάντη and περὶ πάντη are as common in Quintus as similes about lions and leopards; see ii 485, v 3, 52, vi 354, vii 118, 717, x 185, xi 418, 421, xiii 2, 42, 100, 371, 571, etc. "I like to be honest," as the tobacconist said when he explained to Mr Smith that he need not pay his bill because it had been "distributed over the other gentlemen's accounts," and so I will add that there is no instance in Quintus of πεφυρμένα without a dative. But at ii 485 he says ἐφορύνετο γαῖα αἵματος ἐκχυμένοιο, where ἐφορύνετο has no dative and cannot be connected with αἵματος as a partitive genitive. So I do not see why he should not have used πεφυρμένα as I suppose.

Then why αὐτός? He would not be likely to put on the apothecary's assistant. αἷμα? *Iliad* Γ 218. The end of the line is responsible as usual.

iv 514. καρπαλίμως ζεύγλῃσι μέγ' ἔκθορον ἀσχαλόντες.  
Horses starting in a chariot race. It is true they have just had the lash laid on to them, but you cannot believe that any one would say they started ἀσχαλόντες. They have just been pawing and champing the bit in their eagerness to get off. Quintus then wrote ἰσχανόντες.

Pauw oddly says "propter flagellorum ictus, quibus non excitanda erat eorum velocitas." He seems to think they were indignant at being struck when they didn't need it. ἔκθορον Tychoen for ἔνθορον.

- iv 530. "ἀλλ' οὐ μὰν κεῖνός γε καὶ ἵππασίησι μεμηλώς  
ἵππους ὠκύποδας τοίους ἔχεν, ἀλλ' ἄρα πολλὸν  
ποσσὶν ἀφαιροτέρους· οἱ γάρ τ' εἶδοντ' ἀνέμοισιν."  
ἦ μέγα κυδαίνων ἵππων μένος ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν  
Ἀτρεΐδην.

Clearly then the horses "like the winds" are those of Atrides, but who could ever guess that from οἱ? Read σοί.

- iv 568. ἵππος ἔην· γενεῇ δὲ μάλ' οὐ κακός, ἀλλὰ θοοῖο  
θεσπέσιον γένος ἔσκεν Ἀρίονος.

γενεῇ γε μὲν Koechly, contra metrum, for there is no caesura—practically, as the whole phrase γενεῇ γε μὲν coheres closely together. Besides it is nowhere near the MSS. The same unmetrical conjecture is made by him at ix 208, where it is hopeless to guess at the original. Here I believe δὲ μάλ' to be quite right. Cp. viii 382, οἱ δὲ μάλ' οὐ τι, λιλαιόμενοι περ ἰκέσθαι, ἐς νομὸν αἰσσοῦσιν, where no one has objected to the order of μάλ' οὐ. Apoll. Rhod. iii 751, ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μήδειαν ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λάβεν ὕπνος.

- iv 593. ἀλκῆς ἰέμενον κρατερῶν ἀπέρυξεν ἀέθλων.

Odysseus did not yearn after ἀλκή, did he? What he would have liked would have been victory. ΝΙΚΗC and ΑΛΚΗC are easily confused.

- v 67. ἐν δὲ χοροὶ ἴσταντο νέων παρὰ ποσσὶ γυναικῶν.

One of the scenes from the shield of Achilles. The line has been much tormented, but I believe it is right as it stands. If you compare these passages:

- vi 63. νίκη δὲ πέλει παρὰ ποσσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

- vi 432. παρὰ ποσσὶν ὄλεθρος, "destruction is very nigh unto us."

- vii 549. παρὰ ποσσὶν ὄλεθρον δερκόμενοι τρομέουσι.

- ix 191. ἵπποιο θοοῦ παρὰ ποσσὶ πεσόντα.

- x 272. ὁ δ' ἄρ' αἶψα πέσεν παρὰ ποσσὶ γυναικός.  
(Paris falling before Oenone in prayer.)

- x 300. παρὰ ποσσὶ σοῖσι πεσόντα.



xii 292. ἄλγεα μὲν παρὰ ποσσὶ θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν.

xii 384. παραὶ ποσσὶ κάππεσον ἵππου.

xii 548. ἐν ποσσὶ κείμεθ' ὀλέθρον (πεύρατ' Hermann, τέρματ' Koechly; I think κείμεθ' is right).

If, I say, you look at all these lines, you see how recklessly Quintus uses *παρὰ ποσσί*. Sometimes literally meaning "at the feet," it comes to mean merely "near," as in vi 63, 432, vii 549, xii 292. Thus here I take it that *χοροὶ νέων* were represented dancing opposite to *χοροὶ γυναικῶν*, as in Σ 593—606, the passage Quintus is thinking of. He uses *παρὰ ποσσί*, just a little more oddly than usual, to mean *ἐναντίον*.

v 80. νῆες δὲ στονόεσσαι ὑπερ πόντοιο φέροντο.  
στονόεντος.

v 88. τοῖς δ' ἔπι κυδιῶν καὶ κήτεσιν εἰναλίοισιν  
ἥσκητ' Ἐννοσίγαιος.

κυδιῶν Rhodomann, μειδιῶν. For *καὶ* the same editor proposes *μετὰ* and is followed by the rest. *καὶ* is probably an ancient guess to fill up a gap, for which I should prefer *μέγα* to *μετά*. And for *ἔπι* query *ἐν*? Posidon does not *κυδιάαν ἐπὶ τοῖς (ναύταις)* but only *ἐπὶ κήτεσιν*. He is represented on the shield *among* the sailors.

v 99. πάντα δ' ἄρ' ἐστεφάνωτο βαθὺς ῥόος Ὀκεανοῖο.

Koechly's parallels for *ἐστεφάνωτο* with a simple accusative are no parallels. At Apoll. Rhod. iii 1214 *μιν* is governed by *περίξ*. In the Orphic fragment *πάντη θεὸς ἐστεφάνωται πάντα ζωογόνων* the right reading is *ζωογονῶν* which governs *πάντα*. In Apollinarius *metaphr.* v 27, *ἡμέας ἐστεφάνωσας ἅτ' εὐδοκίης κλυτὸν ὄπλον*, also quoted by Koechly, we have such an accusative after the active no doubt, but I can only say that Apollinarius may have been an authority in the original Hebrew, he was not in Greek. Here read *πάντη δ' ἐστεφάνωτο*; it was corrupted to *πάντα* and *ἄρ'* thrown in to fill up.

v 154. οὐνεκεν ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἄλγεα πολλὰ μόγησα.

Read *οὐνεκ' ἄεθλα* (hardly *οὐνεκεν ἄεθλα*). The same corruption in Bacchylides x 47 probably.



v 157. τοῦνεκα Τρῶσιν ἐφῶμεν ἐύφροσι τήνδε δικάσσαι. — As τήνδε has nothing to agree with, and an ellipse such as that of δίκην "nec Quinto nec omnino Epicis sit usitatum," Koechly assumes a lacuna after this line. Did Quintus write ἐύφροσιν σύνησι?

v 217. Restore πάσῃ from P.

v 324. χολή δ' ὑπερέβλυσεν αἰνὴ·  
ἥπατι δ' ἐγκατ' ἔμικτο.

Such was the wrath of Ajax when Odysseus got the armour of Achilles. His gall might well overflow, but how his entrails could be mixt with his liver I entirely fail to understand. The gall-bladder lies upon the liver; if then the gall boil over from it, it of course mixes with, or at least flows on to, the liver, and Quintus, who knew more of anatomy than he did of poetry, said therefore ἐγκατέμικτο.

A Persian poet in such cases says: "His liver was filled with blood".

v 362. Considering the eternal interchange of ξ and ζ I suspect Quintus said ἐρεξε. It goes far better with ἔμπεδα than the aorist does.

v 493. ὥς δ' ὅταν εἰροπόκων οἴων ἀπο νήπια τέκνα  
ἀνέρες ἐξελάσσωσιν ἵνα σφίσι δαῖτα κάμονται,  
αἱ δὲ μέγ' ἀσπαίρουσι διηνεκέως μεμακύναι  
μητέρες εὐτύκτους σηκοὺς περὶ χηρωθέντας·  
ὥς οἳ γ' ἀμφ' Αἴαντα μέγα στένον ἥματι κείνῳ.

εὐτύκτους Zimm., ἐκ τεκέων. For μέγ' ἀσπαίρουσι the accepted reading is Koechly's μέγα σκαίρουσι, the picture of the bereaved ewes *dancing* in their anguish about the pens being truly touching. μέγα στενάχουσι would be better, corresponding to μέγα στένον, as often in similes. But Quintus said μέγ' ἀσχαλώωσιν (he never uses the form ἀσχάλλειν), a word frequent in him of animals. Thus it is used of a swallow at vii 330, of a lion at vii 465, of oxen at xi 210, a nightingale at xii 493, a leopard at xii 580.

v 561. ὦ γύναι, οὐ νύ σέ τις δμοήν ἔτι θήσεται ἄλλος  
Τεύκρου ἔτι ζώντος ἀμύμονος ἢδ' ἐμεῦ αὐτοῦ.

Offended by the double ἔτι Koechly reads ποτε θήσεται. I think the text is right, the first ἔτι goes well with ἄλλος, the second ἔτι with ζώντος, and at 519 we have εἴ που ἔτ' ἀμφινέμονται ἔτι ζωοὶ Σαλαμίνα, which is closely parallel.

vi 78. τελέσαιμ' ἄν?

vi 347. γάννται δὲ μετὰ σφίσι βουκόλος ἀνήρ.

σφίσι = cattle. The phrase strikes me as absurd, and I think we should read μετὰ φρεσί; cp. *Iliad* Θ 559, γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα ποιμήν. I think the younger Struve was right in making the same change at xi 386.

vi 568. Πάμμονι δ' ἔμπεσε πένθος· ἄφαρ δέ ε' θῆκεν ἀνάγκη  
ἄμφω καὶ βασιλῆα καὶ ἡνίοχον θοὸν ἄρμα.

ἀνάγκη Rhod. "Because he couldn't help it, his swift chariot made him both warrior and charioteer." "Sed ei rationi," says Koechly, "a Quinti simplicitate alienae praestat Brodaeī emendatio ἡνιοχεῖν, quam rec. Tychs. auctore Heynio." Brodaeus of course keeps ἀνάγκη. If however one thing more than another is "a Quinti simplicitate alienum," it is the construction θῆκε βασιλῆα καὶ ἡνιοχεῖν. It is true that Quintus uses either construction after τίθημι, also that Pindar combines both together like Brodaeus. It is also true that Quintus has a somewhat similar mixture at iv 113:

οἱ μὲν ἀεθλεύουσιντες ἀπειρεσίῳ ἐν ἀγῶνι,  
οἱ δὲ φρένας καὶ θυμὸν ἀεθλητῆρσιν ἰῆναι.

But this does not seem nearly so bold as the other.

At xi 157 we have θοοὶ χέρας. On the strength of this I should incline, ut in re valde incerta, to keep the MSS. reading, translating: "Necessity made him at once warrior and swift-charioted driver." But I confess to suspecting some much deeper corruption. Does not βασιλῆα look rather strange?

vi 631. ἔνθα Πάρις Μόσυνόν τε βάλεν καὶ ἀγήνορα  
Φόρκυν.

ἐνθα Rhod., ἀν (sic) δέ MSS., ἐν δὲ Pauw. The last has not



been accepted by later editors, yet it is nearest to the MSS and suits the context better than *ἐνθα*. At viii 99 the MSS have *ἀνδ'* (sic) *Ἀγαμέμνων κτείνει ἐν Σπράτον*, where again *ἐν δ'* seems to me the right correction (*ἐνθ'* Rhod.). This use of *ἐν δέ* for "and among the rest" or "and besides" scarcely needs any defence; however at xii 467 Lehrs actually introduces it for the corrupt *ἐνθα*, and at xii 518 the right reading is *ἐν δέ*—*ὥρυσαντο ἔκτοσθεν πυλέων*. x 192, 199, are different. At xi 52 we have *ἀν δὲ Φιλοκτήτης ὀλοῶ βάλε Πείρασον ἰ*, "σὺν δέ vel ἐν δέ vel ἐνθά vel ἀλλὰ" Rhod.; *ἐν δέ* seems to me again right. At xiii 220 Koechly reads *ἐν δέ* for *ἐνθα*, but means it to be taken with *ἐνέκυρσεν*, so that again is different. At vii 309, ix 431 and xii 198 the MSS. give *ἐν δέ* wrongly; at least it has been altered.

vii 382. *τοῦ δ' ἰαίνεται θυμὸς ἐελδομένοιο καὶ αὐτοῦ.*

Generally corrected to *τοῦ δ' ἄρ' ἰαίνεται*. I think the MSS. reading should be retained. It is an echo of *Iliad* ix 595, *τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἀκούοντος κακὰ Φέργα*. For the quantity of the augmented *ἰαίνεται* compare xi 161, xiii 63, 83.

vii 427. *πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρήσουσι μάλ' αἰνῶς.*

*μάλ' αἰνῶς* is "very dreadful." I believe Quintus wrote *μελαίνας*.

vii 457. *ἀνέρες οὓς τ' ἀνέμοιο καταγιγίδες ἀντιόωσαι  
εἵργουσιν μάλα πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, οἳ δ' ἀλεγεινοὶ  
νῆι περιπρωχῶσι.*

Do they? "Per navem cursitant," says Rhodomann, "cum nave circumcursant," says Pauw more absurdly still. Heyne thinks they run round and round the ship in their impatience, but then it would be *νῆα*, to say nothing of the sense. I opine that Quintus said *περιπτώσσουσι*.

vii 525. *μαιμώνοντα?*

vii 539. *καὶ ἀμφασίην ἀλεγεινὴν  
κεῦθον ὑπὸ κραδίῃ.*

To "conceal silence" is an incredible phrase at least for <sup>so</sup>



simple an author; they concealed what they thought ἀμφασίῃ ἀλεγεινῇ.

- viii 29. Ἡέλιος θηητὸν ἐπὶ χθόνα πῦρ ἀμαρύσσων,  
πῦρ, ὅτε οἱ πῶλοισι καὶ ἄρμασι συμφέρετ' ἀστήρ  
Σείριος.

Quintus is rather fond of the figure of speech called epanalepsis. But it is so absurdly pointless here that one cannot accept it; he wrote ὀππότε, which being carelessly copied as ὅτε was then expanded by the vain repetition of πῦρ from the line above. Cf. x 406, ὀππόσον P, ὅσον cet.

- viii 57. ἐῆ δ' ἐκέλευεν ἕκαστον  
ἀλκῇ ἀνιερὴν ἐς φύλοπιν ὀτρύνουσα.

An infinitive is badly wanted after ἐκέλευεν; read probably ὀτρύνεσθαι.

- viii 68. Ἔρις δ' ὀρόθυνε καὶ αὐτή.  
ἀλκῇ Koechly, better Ἄτη. It is true that Ἄτη is never spoken of in Homer or Quintus as stirring up battle, but neither is ἀλκή personified. And we must have a personification to go with Ἔρις.

- viii 263. τί γὰρ ποτὶ δῆριν Ἄρης  
λώιον, εὖτε βροτοῖσι κορυσσομένοις ἐπαμύνει;  
ἐπαμύνη P. The subjunctive is better in the general statement, so read ἐπαμύνη. So at x 250 read παλύνη.

- viii 269. Restore στρέψωσι from P, as far better than τρέψωσι.

- viii 307. τοῦ δ' αἶψα διὰ στέρνοιο ποτήθη  
αἰχμὴ ἀνιερή, στομάχου δ' ἀπέκερσε κελεύθους.

I cannot stomach στομάχου κελεύθους. I know indeed that Quintus elsewhere is guilty of the truly amazing couplet:

ἐγγεῖν κοίλοιο διὰ στομάχοιο πέρησεν,  
ἦχι θααὶ πόσιός τε καὶ εἰδατός εἰσι κέλευθαι,

a parody of Homer's

ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡματός εἰσι κέλευθαι,

but that will hardly defend *στομάχου κελεύθους*. Does it mean the oesophagus? Or the pyloric and cardiac orifices? what? Comparing xii 406:

*ἄχρι καὶ ἐς μήνυγας ἰδ' ἐγκεφάλαιο θέμεθλα,*

and considering that it is at the end of a line, I would be restore *ἀπέκερσε θεμέθλους*, or perhaps better *θέμεθλα*, which fancy Quintus would prefer where metre allows it.

Lest anyone should suppose that *στομάχου* here signifies *throat* I add that the next line says: *μίγη δέ οἱ εἶδατα λύθρφ*.

viii 358. *ἴξεν Ἀθηναίων ἱερὸν πέδον.*

*πέδον Ἀθηναίων* seems a strange phrase. *Ἀθηναίων*? Homer says *γουνὸν Ἀθηνέων*, not *Ἀθηναίων*. It is true we have *ἐν πεδίῳ Τρώων* in the line before, but *πεδίον Τρώων* is Homeric.

viii 371. *ἐν* for *ἐπ'*?

viii 439. *ἔρξον ἐμεῦ ἀπονόσφιν· ἐλαφρότερον δέ μοι ἄλγος ἔσσεται, ἣν μὴ ἔγωγε μετ' ὄμμασιν οἶσιν ἰδῶμαι.*

Ganymede is interceding with Zeus for the city of which he was so distinguished an ornament. But his emotion, however pathetic his character naturally is, would surely never lead him into such grammar as *ιδέσθαι μετ' ὄμμασιν*. It could only mean "between my eyes," as in the Homeric *μετὰ χερσίν*, or Quintus's own *μετὰ γαμφηλῆσι* (vii 490), and this is the only shadow of justification in him, or else "in company with my eyes." The regular phrase is *ἐν*, as often in Homer and once in Quintus (iii 125). At ii 262 he has *παρ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν*. I see nothing for it but to suppose that he said *παρ'* here (he would probably have not used *ἐν* as he would avoid the hiatus as a rule). ii 261—264 should be compared with viii 435—442, to which it is closely parallel. The change is violent, but not more so than many, e.g. in 458 *τοῦ νῦν* is read for *τοῖσιν*, in 490 P has *ἐπῆλθε* for *ἐχύθη*—but there is no end to it if I begin.

At i 46 indeed MP give *μετ' ἔγχεϊ κυδιώωσα*, but the other MSS., and all editors of course, read *μέγ'*. At xiv 510, *θῦνε μετ' ἀστεροπησιν*, we must again read *μέγ'*.

ix 23. τοῦ δ' ἔκλυνεν οὐρανόθι Ζεύς.

οὐρανόθε? So Zimmermann rightly suggests τηλόθε for τηλόθι at x 134. οὐρανόθε Pauw for -όθι at xi 401, "frustra" says Koechly, but I agree with Pauw—for once.

ix 92. γαίης, ἥ με δαμέντα κατὰ κλόνον ἀμφικαλύψει  
μᾶλλον ἢ ἀθρήσαιμι....

ἀμφικαλύψοι Rhod. and one MS. corrected, followed (pro pudor!) by Koechly and Zimmermann. Quintus knew better than to use a future optative like that anyhow. Read ἀμφικαλύψαι.

The old reading of Nonnus' paraphrase of the fourth Gospel xi 235 was ὅστις ἰδοιτο κατὰ πτόλιν ἢ καὶ ἀκούσοι, not even ἀκούσοιτο!

ix 99. πέλει δέ τις ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν  
ὅς νῦν λαὸν ἄγειρεν.

ἔγειρεν Pauw and recent editors. But ἄγειρεν is right; see *Od.* β 41. At i 212 ἄγειρε seems rightly changed to ἔγειρε.

ix 165. τὰ (δούρατα) δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλα περύντα  
πρῶνας ὑπερθε κάλυψαν, ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπιτέρπεται ἔργῳ.

There is only one wood-cutter engaged; no wonder he is pleased with his work if he cover whole πρῶνας with the spoil of his axe. Besides he is cutting in the valleys (162). What then would the trees cover when they fell? Why, the under-wood and bushes, ῥῶπας. Cp. ἄγκεα ῥωπήεντα, vii 715, and κάππεσεν εὐτ' ἐν ὄρεσσι περὶ στερέην δρῦα θάμνος, iii 280. In ix 451—456 Philoctetes leaning on two heroes is likened to a tree left half cut through which is then blown down and ποτικλίνη ἔρνεσιν εὐθαλέεσσι, φέρουσι δέ μιν βαρέουσιν. So that the idea of a tree falling on vegetation below seems familiar to Quintus.

At ix 201 the olives from a tree ἐκάλυψε χῶρον ὑπερθεν. This would suggest χῶρον for πρῶνας but it is a good bit further from the MSS., though certainly better in itself.



ix 192.

τὸν μὲν ἐλάσσας

δουρὶ κατὰ στομάχοιο ποτὶ στόμα.

κατὰ P and another, μετὰ cet., μέγα Rhod. The stomach is said to be cause of many woes in life; it certainly seems to be so in Quintus. Here, since the reading of P was made known, I cannot but think that κατὰ must be kept and that ποτὶ στόμα represents some corruption. Surely στόμα στομάχοιο will never do. And μέγα is very bad whether it be an adverb or agree with στόμα. But what followed στομάχοιο I cannot guess at all.

ix 227. ὦ ἄνα, Δηϊφόβοιο πέλει στρατός.

Neoptolemus is hastening to relieve the Greeks at a point where they are getting the worst of it. When they get near, Automedon his charioteer sees who it is that is harrying them (223) and then addresses Neoptolemus. What he said then was something to this effect: "It is Deiphobus who is doing the mischief." Can anyone believe that he said: "It is the army of Deiphobus"? Read κράτος. Cf. i 471.

In the next line read σεῖο πάροιθε τοκῆα ὑπέτρεμε (τοκῆος MSS., τοκῆα πάροιθεν Zimm.); hiatus at the weak caesura of the third foot is quite common.

ix 294.

ἀμφὶ δὲ μακρὰ

μάρμαιρον κατιόντος ἴσον στεροπῇσι κέλευθοι.

Apollo descends to help the Trojans. From Olympus he comes down straight παρὰ Ξάνθοιο ῥόον. What were the κέλευθοι which blazed like lightning? Nonsense, and besides one would say μακρὰ κέλευθα. Read στεροπῇσιν ἔθειραι. Cp. xii 535 (κόμαι). No doubt there is little resemblance between ἔθειραι and κέλευθοι, but it is the end of a line as usual; look at ix 539, καταπρῆσαι τε πόληα P and two other MSS., κέλευθα the rest.

See also Apollonius ii 676 :

χρῦσεοι δὲ παρειάων ἐκάτερθε

πλοχμοὶ βοτρυνέντες ἐπερρώοντο κίοντι.

This too is said of Apollo.

ix 343. *πέρθοντές ποτε γαῖαν ἀρηιφίλων Θρηίκων.*

As the quantity of *Θρηίκων* has been called in question by Pauw, it is worth while to refer to Apoll. Rhod. i 632:

*δείματι λευγαλέφ ὁπότε Θρηήκες ἴασι.*

ix 347. *ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἀπαναίνεται ἦτορ.*

*ἐπεὶ μέγα μαίνεται* is generally read. *πέρι* would be nearer the MSS. than *μέγα*, and the epic is all dotted over with *πέρι*.

ix 376. *οὐνεκά οἱ μέλαν ἔλκος, ἐς ὅστέον ἄχρισ ἰκέσθαι,  
πυθόμενον καθύπερθε λυγραὶ δ' ὑπέρεπτον ἀνία.*

Zimmermann omits *δ'*, the best remedy proposed. It is to be observed that *μέλαν* and *ἰκέσθαι*, both of which have been altered conjecturally, are both defended by x 273. But does *ἀνία ὑπέρεπτον ἔλκος*, "pangs devoured his wound," give very good sense? They devoured Philoctetes, they and the wound between them. I suggest *λυγραῖς ὑπέρεπτεν ἀνίας* (or *ἀνίης*, heaven only knows which form Quintus preferred). The loss of *ς* at the end of the line would be enough to start the corruption going. In support of this note further that the MSS. accent *ἀνία*.

ix 480. *Ἀτρεΐδαι* must be a mistake for *Ἀργεῖοι*, look at 487.

ix 518. *ὦ φίλος, οὗ τοι ἐγὼν ἔτι χόομαι, οὐδὲ μὲν ἄλλφ.*

A stronger contrast is wanted between *οὐδὲ μὲν ἄλλφ* and what precedes. Read *οὐ σοί*, for *τοι* can have no emphasis.

ix 519. *Ἀργείων, εἰ γέ τις ἔτ' ἤλιτεν εἴνεκ' ἐμεῖο.*

*ἤλιτεν* Rhod., *ἦντεεν*. *γε* is preserved by P alone, the rest either having only *εἴ τις* or filling up with *τῷ* before *εἰ*. Sticking to the vestiges remaining in P, we may read *εἴ περ*. Π is often read as Γ and then the P of ΠΕΡ would be dropped.

But if we lay stress on the accentuation of P we shall be rather inclined to read *εἰ δὴ τις*, which perhaps gives better sense. "If it really is the case, which I don't know about, that any other of you besides Agamemnon injured me." It would be magnanimous at any rate in the mouth of Philoctetes.



x 68. ὥστ' ἂν ἀζαλέης ξύλοχοιο  
πῦρ βρομέει αἰθόμενον.

So P, ὥστ' ἂν ἀζαλέης ξύλοχον | πῦρ τρομέει or βρομέει cet. Hermann, not knowing the reading of P, reads ὡς ὅτ' ἂν ἀζαλέην ξύλοχον πῦρ | αἰθόμενον βρομέει. The trajection of πῦρ from one line to the other is very improbable; I do not think there is an instance of this sort of corruption in Quintus. And with the reading of P before us it is clearly unnecessary. Read ὡς ὅτ' ἐν ἀζαλέης ξυλόχοισι (-οιο and -οισι are liable to confusion) πῦρ βρέμει (Rhodomann) αἰθόμενον.

x 188. ἐπήρατος?

x 206. αὐτὰρ ὁ κυδιόων ἐν τεύχεσι.

ἐπὶ? One does not say κυδιάαν ἐν τινι, and if ἐν τεύχεσι be taken apart from κυδιόων it is ridiculously weak.

x 246. ἐν αἵματι δ' ἔπλετο δῆρις  
κτεινομένων ἐκάτερθε.

"Haud scio an ἔσσντο δῆρις scripserit ut alibi." Koechly. He does say ἔσσντο δῆρις twice or thrice, but that hardly defends ἐν αἵματι ἔσσντο, which seems an odd expression. But Koechly was surely right in suspecting ἔπλετο. What of εἵλλετο? Quintus often uses phrases like "Ares was bedewed with blood"; could he say "δῆρις was rolled in blood"? ("Every battle of the warrior is with a confused noise and garments rolled in blood.") Cf. *Iliad* Π 640.

x 322. σεῖο γὰρ εἵνεκ', ἀλιτρή, καὶ ἀθανάτους ἔλε πένθος.

I cannot pass by this beautiful line, spoken by Oenone to Paris, without a word; it shines on the "unadorned bosom" of Quintus like a diamond. Indeed the whole episode of the death of Paris and his fruitless appeal to Oenone is by far the best thing in this disorderly compilation. Next may be ranked the death of Penthesilea in the first book, but perhaps that has an unfair advantage—one has not yet begun, like Clisthenes, to suspect the whole business.

xi 96. φοίνικες θαλέθουσι φέρουσι δ' ἀπείρονα καρπόν.

Quintus never admits a weak caesura in the fourth foot. At



vii 40 the MSS. rightly divide οὐκέτ' into οὐκ ἔτ'. *πίονα* seems somewhat improbable. Any suggestions?

- xi 101. καί ῥα νόῳ καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ὄμμασιν ἰθύνεσκει  
ἰὼν ἀπὸ γναμπτοῖο κεράατος· ὃς δ' ἄλεγεινδὸν  
ἄλτο θοῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἐς ἀνέρα.

Is it worse to take ἄλεγεινδὸν as an adverb, or to make it agree with ἀνέρα? And what does an arrow do when it springs from the bow? It shrills or whistles, ὃς δὲ λιγαίνων. After all too ἄλεγεινδὸν is an emendation of the elder Struve, commended by Spitzner. The MSS. have ἄλεγεινός. After ὃς it was an easy mistake to write δὲ λιγαίνος, and the rest was inevitable.

- xi 110. ὥς δ' ὅτε τις γεράνοισι τανυφθόγγοισι χολωθεὶς  
οὔρος ἀνὴρ πεδίῳ μὲγ' ἀσχαλὼν ἐπορούσῃ  
διήσας περὶ κρατὶ θοῇ καλὰ νεῦρα βόεια  
λᾶα βάλῃ κατέναντα.

Scaliger and Koechly assume a lacuna. Koechly also suggests ἐπορούσας. ἐπορούσειν Hermann (meaning?). διήσας δ' ἐν χειρὶ Zimmermann, of which one may say with Cassandra Βολαῖς ὑγρώσσω σπόγγος ὄλεσεν γραφὴν.

What strikes me as strange is μὲγ' ἀσχαλὼν by itself. Why does this οὔρος ἀνὴρ trouble himself? Is he bilious, or in love? Has he made a false quantity? No, he must be troubled *about something*. The context shews that the cranes have done no mischief yet, but he is anxious lest they should. He is troubled *for his field*, μὲγ' ἀσχαλὼν ἐπ' ἀρούρη. So ἀσχαλὼν ἐπὶ βουσίν elsewhere. I do not deny that Quintus often uses ἀσχαλὼν without any such clause, but the context always shews plainly the meaning.

For θοῇ καλὰ one must take Rhodomann's θοῇ χερὶ or Tychsen's θοῶς μάλα. Does Quintus ever shorten the first syllable of καλός?

- xi 179. φεύγοντ' Ἀργείων πουλὺν στρατόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' αὐτοῖς  
ἔργα θεῶν μεμέληντο.

ἔργα χερῶν (vel νέων) Rhod., μόθων Lennep, ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν Zimm., ἔργ' ἀγαθῶν ego.

xi 212. ἀμφοτέρων πονέων τε πόνον τρομέων τ' ἐπὶ βουσίν. A ploughman has his oxen attacked by gadflies; they bolt; the ploughman ἄχυνται for two reasons. He fears for his oxen, τρομέει ἐπὶ βουσί, that is simple. But the other? πονέει πόνον? That is just what he does not do, because his oxen have run away and his πόνος has been stopped. Besides, Quintus never uses such figures as πονέων πόνον. Zimmermann's suggestion of μογέων τε πόνον gets rid of the figure, but does not improve the sense. Read ποθέων, for that is what happens; he regrets the waste of time and loss of work.

xi 219. ἀλλ' ἄγε θέσθ' ἀνὰ θυμόν.

ἀλλ' ἄζεσθ' ἀνὰ Lehrs, θέσθ' ἐνι Rhod. Read θέσθ' ἔνα, and look at 366, ἔχον δ' ἔνα θυμόν ἐς ἀλκήν. So at vi 604 ἔν should be restored, being the reading of all MSS., except one bad one, which gives ἐνί.

xi 283. Should we mark a lacuna after this line?

xi 396. ἀνέρας οὖς κατέμαρψεν ἐν ἀσπίσιν.

Aeneas throws down a great stone from the wall and crushes the men under a tortoise. I think ἐν is a dittography from κατέμαρψεν and that Quintus said ὑπ'.

xi 417. ἐτίναζε for ἐτίναξε.

xi 472. ἐγκέφαλος πεπάλακτο' συνηλοίητο δὲ πάντα ὁστέα καὶ θοὰ γυῖα λυγρῶ πεπαλαγμένα λύθρῳ.

Both πεπάλακτο and πεπαλαγμένα can scarcely be right. The former however is plainly right and so it is the latter which is wrong. Read πεφορνγμένα (319, xii 550).

xii 328. ὅσους χάνδανεν ἵππος ἐύξους ἐντὸς ἐέργειν.

The infinitive is very strange; ἐέργων?

xii 420. ἀγορεύειν is perfectly right; the tense is imperfect. What Zimmermann's ἀγορεύσειν could mean I have no idea.

xii 443. θάμβεον ὄβριμον ἔργον ὃ δὲ σφισιν ἔκρυφε πῆμα. ὃ δὲ? There is only one other instance of ὃ = τό, ii 20.



xii 533.

πέλει δέ οἱ ἄσχετος ἀλκή.

A wounded lioness roams the mountains; her ἀλκή is no good to her, Quintus said ἄσχετον ἄλγος.

xii 582.

ἡ δ' ἄγριον ἦτορ ἔχουσα  
ἐντροπαλιζομένη ἀναχάζεται ἀχνυμένη κῆρ·  
ὥς ἢ γ' εὐρέος ἵππου ἀπέσσυτο τειρομένη περ  
Τρώων ἀμφὶ φόνῳ.

"As a leopard retires grieved at heart, so did Cassandra depart from the wooden horse, vext exceedingly concerning the imminent destruction of Troy." I can see nothing to boggle at in this, but the editors have made it a mark for slings and arrows of an outrageous kind. Brodaeus and Zimmermann have made three false quantities over it between them, and the only objection seems to be that ἀχνυμένη "dispicet de panthera dictum" (Koechly). Why, it is used of horses (iii 195), a nightingale (xii 490), and a heifer (xiv 260). At iii 202 we have πορδαλίες τεκέων καχολωμέναι ἢ λέαιναι; at iii 145 positively ἡγορή is used of a lion. Surely then a πόρδαλις may be described as ἀχνυμένη.

Then for τειρομένη ἀμφὶ φόνῳ. Look at vii 174, τειρόμενον κῆρ ἀμφὶ πατρός, xiv 187 τειρόμενος κῆρ (περ?) ἀμφ' ἐμέθεν. If any change were wanted these passages suggest φόνον for φόνῳ, but "l'un et l'autre se dit," as Beauzée said with his dying breath, and added "ou se disent." Then τειρόμενος περ ends a line at x 284, 465, xii 372.

If these parallels are not enough to defend the text of our present passage, Heaven help it! I can do no more.

xiii 5. ὦδε δέ τις χείρεσσι λαβὼν ἔμπλειον ἄλεισον  
πῖνεν ἀκηδέστως.

Either there is some corruption in 5 or else we must assume a considerable lacuna after it (as often in Quintus) containing some remarks by the drinker.

xiii 60.

τάχα δ' οἱ μὲν ἔναιρον  
δυσμενέας (the Greeks who had come out of the  
horse set to work).



Here is a lacuna and then we go on :

61. τοὶ δ' ἄρ' ἔρρεσσον ἔσω ἀλός (the other Greeks from Tenedos). He then describes their landing, and after a simile :—

70. ὥς οἱ γ' αὐτῶν Τρώων ποτὶ ἄστὺ νέοντο  
πάντες ἀριστήεσσιν ἀρηγέμεναι μεμαῶτες.  
οἱ δ' ὥς τ' ἀργαλήν λιμῶ περιπαιφάσσοντες

Another lacuna

73. σταθμῶ ἐπιβρίσωσι κατ' οὖρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλην  
εὐδοντος μογεροῦ σημάντορος, ἄλλα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις  
δάμνανθ' ἔρκεος ἐντὸς ὑπὸ κνέφας ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντη

Lacuna

76. αἵματι καὶ νεκύεσσιν, ὀρώρει δ' αἰνὸς ὄλεθρος  
καὶ περ ἔτι πλεόνων Δαναῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἐόντων.

Does not this last line startle you? And consider the fragmentary simile of 72—75. It illustrates evidently the havoc made by the Greeks who were already within the walls. Then οἱ δὲ in 72 refers to these latter? Apparently, but who would ever have thought it? And then see how it goes on :—

78. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μάλα πάντες ἔβαν ποτὶ τείχεα Τροίης,  
δὴ τότε μαιμώνωντες ἀνηλεγέως ἐσέχυντο  
ἐς Πριάμοιο πόλιν μένος πνείοντες Ἄρης.

He does not say, as you would expect after 77, “but when they were all *inside*,” but he says, “when they all (i.e. all those with Agamemnon) came to the walls from the shore, then they poured in through the gates.”

All this trouble is obviated by a transposition. Lines 72—77 are the mutilated remnant of a passage describing the behaviour of the Greeks from the horse. They ought to be put in after 60, or rather after the line of which only the first word *δυσμενέας* is preserved. Line 61, *τοὶ δ' ἄρ' ἔρρεσσον*, will then fit on to 77, though there may have been something between originally, and certainly 61 is mutilated. And 78 follows 71 quite naturally.

xiii 183. κλάσθησαν ἄδην ἐνὶ σώματι γυῖα.

πὶ Koechly. I understand the one no more than the other, and see nothing for it but ὑπό. The meaning is merely that "his limbs were loosened below him," as Homer says. ὑποκλάω is found several times in Quintus.

xiii 306. οὐκέτ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ

ἐλπωρὴν ἔχε θυμὸς ἰδεῖν εὐτειχέα πάτρην.

αὐτοῦ Spitzner, αὐτῷ. Aeneas no longer cared to see his native city (πάτρη, like *terra* in Italian, means *city* often in late epic), but thought of flight. This meaning cannot fairly be got out of ἐλπωρὴν which could only signify *wish* or *hope*. Read θαλπωρὴν, *comfort*. The mistake was easy, the previous line beginning ἐλκομένας.

xiii 320. τὸν δ' ἀπαλῆς μάλα χειρὸς (φορέεσκε) ἐπιψαύοντα

πόδεσσι

γαίης· οὐλομένου δὲ φοβεύμενον ἔργα μόθοιο

ἐξῆγεν πολέμοιο δυσσχέος.

For μάλα Hermann proposes ἔτι, Koechly ἅμα. Neither removes the most serious difficulty, which is that ἀπαλῆς χειρὸς is no better governed than Samoa. I conceive that Quintus wrote λάβε, which was of course written βάλε as usual, and from βάλε to μάλα is easy. Then the δὲ before φοβεύμενον is justified and indeed necessary, but before it looked wrong to Hermann at any rate, who proposed οὐλομένοιο, and to Koechly, who proposed τε.

xiii 363. Read παρὰ λεχέεσσι. See Koechly's note, and above on i 670.

xiii 378. κείνοι γὰρ ἀτάσθαλα πρῶτοι ἔρεξαν

ἄμφ' Ἑλένης, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ ὄρκια πημήναντο,  
σχέτλιοι, ὅππότε κείνο διέκ μέλαν αἷμα καὶ ἱρὰ  
ἀθανάτων ἐλάβοντο.

ἀλίοντο Rhod. πατέοντο Koechly (he meant "trampled"! but gave it up happily). Neither of these suggestions touches διέκ, which is palpably impossible. But "they forgot that blood" is surely unsatisfactory; we want some other verb, as

Rhodomann saw. The nearest I can get is *κεῖν' οἷδ' ἔκβαλον αἷμα καὶ ἱρὰ ἀθανάτων τ' ἐλάθοντο*. *κεινοιδεκ* are the same letters as *κεινοδιεκ*, *μέλαν* for *βάλον* is the usual interchange of *β* and *μ*. But if it was *κεῖν' οἷδ' ἔκβαλον* that engendered the MSS. reading, that must itself have been a corruption of *κεῖν' οἷ γ' ἔκβαλον*.

*ἔκβαλον* often enough means *rejected* or *spurned*. The reference is to the breaking of the Treaty in *Iliad* Δ, whereby the Trojans "cast away" the blood of the victims sacrificed to ratify it.

xiv 28. καὶ ῥα μέγα στενάχισεν, ὅτ' ἀμφί ἐ δούλιον  
ἦμαρ  
μάρψ' ἀεκαζομένην.

Such is Zimmermann's beautiful restoration of the corrupt *στοναχίζετ' ἀμφί ἐ...μὰψ ἀεκαζομένην*. Objection however may be taken to *ὅτ'*. As *ὅτι* cannot be elided, it must be for *ὅτε*, and that is never used in this way by Quintus, I believe. To complete the edifice I would read *στενάχιζ' ἐπεὶ ἀμφί ἐ*, which is as near the MSS.

xiv 36. μίγδα περιτρύζουσι διηνεκὲς ἀλλήλοισιν.

Pigs are the noble animals in question. A pig cooing, roaring like any sucking dove! Read *περιτρίζουσι*. There is practically no difference between *τρίζω* and *τρύζω* from a copyist's point of view. Cf. 265 where the same correction is made by Koechly; there it is an olive-press, but he seems to think the squeaking of pigs harmonious enough to justify the gentler *τρύζω*.

xiv 214, 241. Both these lines end *Πολυξείνην ἐϋπεπλον*, both are corrupted to *εὔπεπλον* by Spitzner, followed I am sorry to say by Lehrs and Koechly. Zimmermann, having just made a beautiful correction in the line before, where he is thinking for himself, goes of course after Koechly, for whom he has really too much veneration. There are only seven lines in the whole fourteen books which end with three con-



secutive spondees, i 135, v 45, 472, vi 535, ix 70, xii 304, xiii 402<sup>1</sup>.

I will not dispute the doctrine that Quintus scans *εὐ* as a monosyllable, if there is no reason against it. Here the reason is plain.

I may add, if anybody cared, that Quintus only once has four consecutive spondees in any part of a line, vi 365. He seldom allows three anywhere.

xiv 432. τοῦνεκ' ἄρ' οὔτε δίκην τις ἔθ' ἄζεται, οὐδέ τις  
αἰδῶς  
ἔστι παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν· ἔγωγε μὲν οὔτ' ἐν  
'Ολύμπῳ  
ἔσσομαι.....

Read ἐγὼ γε μὲν.

xiv 444. οὐ τι ἔγωγ' ἀνθίσταμαι οὔνεκ' Ἀχαιῶν.  
Zeus answers Athena. We want a dative after ἀνθίσταμαι and I strongly suspect that for *τι* we should read *τοι*.

xiv 471. ἡ δ' αἶουσα  
ἐσσυμένως οἶμησε περιγναμφθεῖσα νέφεσσι  
φαίης κεν πῦρ ἔμμεν ἅμ' ἡέρι καὶ μέλαν ὕδωρ.  
ἔκετο δ' Αἰολίην...

Iris is sent by Athena to Aeolus. What is the meaning of 473? Would *you* say that a rainbow was "fire and black water with mist"?

Read ἡέρα and put the line in after 538, where it will fit well enough: *περὶ στεροπῇσι δ' ἀνάσσης*

*αἶγλη μαρμαίρεσκε διὰ κνέφας αἰσσοῦσα.*

*<φαίης κεν πῦρ ἔμμεν ἅμ' ἡέρα καὶ μέλαν ὕδωρ>.*

"You would have said that air and water alike were fire."

After writing this I learn from Koechly (for Zimmermann says nothing about it) that *after* 538 a great transposition of 40 verses was made by Rhodemann, about the correctness of

<sup>1</sup> Of course I do not count the absurd xii 314, a verse worthy of a modern parodist, not of Quintus who at any rate knew his metre. And in i 151 the first syllable of *χρυσέσι* is no doubt short.

which there can be no doubt whatever. This confirms me in my opinion. The other 40 are now read as 579—618. In connexion with their irruption what originally was 539 (*φαίης κεν κτλ.*) got displaced and was stuck in again wrongly as 473.

xiv 532. ἡ δ' αἰνόν τε χόλον καὶ πῆμα φέρουσα.

For αἰνόν τε Pauw's Αἶαντι is the received reading. But I can hardly believe that χόλον is right either. χόλον καὶ πῆμα! what a jumble! Perhaps φόνον, φ and χ being often confused, and hence the αἰνόν of the MSS. Cf. i 208, 311, etc., etc.

xiv 620. τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδάων μάλ' ἐπέκλυεν ἀμφὶ δὲ  
πόντος

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*

ἀψ μέλαν οἶδμα φέρεσκεν ὁ δ' ἑστηκὼς χερὶ  
πέυκην  
αἰθομένην ἀνάειρε.

μάλ' ἐπέκλυεν Zimm. μενέκλονος (!). ἀμφὶ scripsi, ἄλλα. Lacunam indicavi. ἑστηκὼς scripsi, οὐκς ὥς P, ἀναμένην vel αὐομένην cet. The last astonishing variant is I fancy a corruption of ἀνημμένην though I hardly know how it got there; it scarcely seems a natural gloss to me on αἰθομένην. Pity the sorrows of the older editors who knew not P!

In 620 μάλ', if that be right, accounts for ἄλλα partly. Zimmermann reads ἄγχι δὲ πάντας ἄμ μέλαν οἶδμα φέρεσκεν. (Posidon, hearing the prayer of Nauplius, brought the Greeks near to shore on the black wave.) This is very ingenious, but I can hardly think it right. There are so many lacunæ in Quintus that one need not scruple to add to their number; he said something like: "the sea raged horribly all round (ἀμφὶ is an everlasting stop-gap of his) and they were dashed against the rocks; some were broken to pieces, others clung to them for a moment, and then ἀψ μέλαν οἶδμα φέρεσκεν—resorbuit." Cf. *Od.* ε 430.

Then for οὐκς ὥς. Observe the position of the breathing which indicates that οὐ is wrong. This granted, ἑστηκὼς keeps all the other letters, and just suits the sense. Nauplius stood holding aloft his torch—a Greek naturally says "held standing."

xiv 642. καὶ τόσση δὲ θάλασσα καὶ εἰσέτι κελάδοντες  
 χεῖμαρροι ἀλεγεινὸν ἀεζόμενοι Διὸς ὄμβρω.

καὶ τόσση seems past praying for; Zimmermann's ἐκλύσθη is probably the best thing yet proposed. For εἰσέτι read εἰσέπεσον· εἰσέτι is εἰσεπ and the εσον fell out.

xiv 652. ψάμαθος δ' ἔτι φαίνεται μούνη  
 χασσαμένου πόντοιο κατ' ἀκτάων ἐριδούπων  
 νόσφι δ' ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῖσι κατεκτάθη.

So I conceive these verses should run. κατ' ἀκτάων Hermann, καὶ ἐκ δαναῶν vel καὶ ἐκ θινῶν. νόσφι δ' scripsi, νόσφιν. αἰγιαλοῖσι Zimmermann, αἰγιαλοῖο. κατεκτάθη Tychsen, κατέκτοθι, κατ' ἔκτοθι.

ARTHUR PLATT.



## NOTES ON CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. II.

§ 1. *stromata* I xix §§ 92, 93 = 372, 373 Potter.

The philosophy of the Greeks, thinks Clement, contains an element of truth. 'But,' he remarks, nine lines from the beginning of § 92, 'there are different sorts of philosophy, and I am thinking, not of all, but of one, of the philosophy which Plato recommends (1) in *Phaedo* 69 CD, (2) in *anterastae* 137 B, and (3) in *republic* 475 DE.' The three quotations are dealt with separately, and accordingly the passage before us divides into three parts, which begin respectively (1) οὐ μὴν ἀπλῶς πᾶσαν φιλοσοφίαν ἀποδεχόμεθα, (2) καὶ τῷ Δημοδόκῳ, and (3) ἐν τε τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς πολιτείας. Of each of the three parts there is something to be said.

(1) The words actually quoted from *Phaedo* 69 CD present little difficulty. It is true that, where the texts of Plato give ὡς φασιν οἱ περὶ τὰς τελετάς, the text of Clement omits the article. The omission may be an error of the scribe's, but it may just as well be a misquotation on the part of Clement. Whether ἡνύσαμεν should be retained or emended<sup>1</sup>, is a question for editors of the *Phaedo* rather than for commentators on Clement: though it may be thought that the testimony of the MSS of the latter is a point, if only a little one, in favour of the received text of the former. But in the sentence which follows the quotation,—ἀρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σοι πίστεως ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γραφῶν τὴν μετὰ θάνατον ἐλπίδα τοῦ δικαίου σαφηνίζειν;—what are we to make of πίστεως? Potter's version of the sentence—"an non tibi videtur ex scripturis

<sup>1</sup> See Cobet, *Λόγιος Ἑρμῆς* p. 530, and R. D. Archer Hind's note in his edition of the *Phaedo*.

Hebraicis eam, quae est post mortem, iusti ex fide spem declarare?"—is plainly impossible. None of the suggestions which I know, neither πιστικῶς nor πιθανῶς proposed by J. B. Mayor, neither πιστεύων nor πιστεύσας proposed by Bywater, at all satisfies me. Cobet, who in Λόγιος Ἑρμῆς p. 530 comments both on the antecedent context in Clement and on the subsequent, has nothing to say about this troublesome phrase. For myself, I fancy that what is wanted is, not correction, but interpretation: and to this I now address myself.

In this sentence Clement leaves for the moment the establishment of the distinction between good philosophy and bad, and parenthetically remarks that 'the just man's hope' bears an evident mark of its Hebrew origin. Now, 'the just man's hope' is affirmed, not so much in the extract transcribed from *Phaedo* 69 CD, as in its immediate sequel: and in this sequel, after about eighteen lines of text, we come to the sentence ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δὴ ἴσως οὐκ ὀλίγης παραμυθίας δεῖται καὶ πίστεως, ὡς ἔστι τε ἡ ψυχὴ ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τινα δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ φρόνησιν, where the word πίστεως might well attract the attention of one who, like Clement, was on the look out for evidence of the Hebrew origin of Greek philosophy. I conceive then that πίστεως, that is to say, τὸ πίστεως, πίστεως in inverted commas, is the subject of the sentence, which means: 'Don't you think that the word πίστεως, which occurs in the sequel to this extract, shows the just man's hope after death to be derived from the Hebrew scriptures?' That Clement sometimes supposes his reader to be familiar with the context of his quotations, and does not always quote all that his argument requires, appears from I xv § 66=355 Potter δύνασθαι γοῦν ἐν τῷ Φαίδωνι πανταχόθεν τὸν φιλόσοφον ὠφελεῖσθαι γράφων, πολλή μὲν ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἔφη, ὁ Κέβης, ἡ δ' ὅς, ἐν ᾗ εἰσὶ πάνπαν ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων γένη. Lest it should be objected that an infinitive or a participle is necessary after σαφηνίζειν, I note that the use here exemplified is found with words of saying, thinking, perceiving, showing, &c, in writers of the classical period, and in Clement is common.



As the editors point out, the quotation in (2) is derived, not from the *Demodocus*, but from the *anterastae* 137 B, where our texts give—ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐχ οὕτως, ὦ φίλε, ἔχωσι, μὴδ' ἢ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν, περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακέναι, οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα κυπτάζοντα ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα, ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ ᾧμην καὶ ὄνειδος εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ βαναύσους καλεῖσθαι τοὺς περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακότας. Apart from difficulties peculiar to Clement's transcript, this passage, as it stands in Plato's works, presents difficulties of which something must now be said.

The general drift of the sentence is unmistakeable. 'It is possible,' says Socrates, 'that philosophers are not, as our argument makes them out, vicious and useless, and that philosophy is not polymathy and the cultivation of the arts, but something else.' Now, from the syntactical point of view the words μὴδ' ἢ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακέναι are not a cautious denial, but a cautious affirmation: and this cautious affirmation of the proposition that philosophy is the cultivation of the arts makes nonsense both of the supplementary phrase οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα, and of the clause which follows ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι. That is to say, inconsistently with the doubt expressed at the outset, with the final denunciation of τοὺς περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακότας, and with the condemnation of polymathy interposed between them, as well as with the whole argument of the dialogue, Socrates, in the clause μὴδ' ἢ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακέναι, suggests that philosophy consists in the cultivation of the arts. In a word, somewhere within the limits of this clause there should be an οὐ: for, though in verse, if a clause introduced by οὕτε follows, a negative is sometimes omitted, I hardly think that the negative can be similarly dropped, where the following clause is introduced by οὐδέ, in prose. Where then should the missing οὐ be inserted? Now, as no rival definition is offered ἄλλο τι being completely vague, τοῦτο is of necessity the definition rejected: in fact, it anticipates περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακέναι κτλ. This being so, οὐ must not be placed immediately before περὶ τὰς τέχνας: it must precede τοῦτο. It remains for us then, either, inserting οὐκ after μὴδ', to



read *μηδ' οὐκ ἢ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν*, or, substituting *οὐδ' ἢ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν*, to read *ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐχ οὕτως, ὦ φίλε, ἔχωσιν, οὐδ' ἢ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν*. Of these alternatives the latter—for which compare *Cratylus* 440 c *μὴ οὐ ῥάδιον ἢ ἐπισκέψασθαι, οὐδὲ πάνυ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου...δυσχυρίζεσθαι*—is, I think, to be preferred.

Furthermore, the words *περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακέναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα κυπτάζοντα* ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα do not bear examination. In particular, the juxtaposition of the two participles is unsatisfactory; for neither *πολυπραγμονεῖ τις κυπτάζων* nor *κυπτάζει τις πολυπραγμονῶν* is an intelligible phrase: and, although *περὶ τὰς τέχνας κυπτάζοντα* gives a good sense, it may be doubted whether *κυπτάζοντα* apart from *περὶ τὰς τέχνας* means anything at all. It seems to me then that *ἐσπουδακέναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα* is a duplicate of *κυπτάζοντα* ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα; and that of the two phrases the latter is to be preferred, since the infinitive ζῆν can stand both with *περὶ τὰς τέχνας κυπτάζοντα* and with *πολυμαθοῦντα*, whilst *πολυπραγμονοῦντα* receives no support from *ἐσπουδακέναι* and is wholly ungrammatical<sup>1</sup>.

In the *anterastae* then I would read *ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐχ οὕτως, ὦ φίλε, ἔχωσιν, οὐδ' ἢ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν, περὶ τὰς τέχνας κυπτάζοντα* ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα, ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι.

And now I may return to the quotation in Clement,—*κάν τῷ Δημοδόκῳ, εἰ δὴ τοῦ Πλάτωνος τὸ σύγγραμμα· μηδὲ ἡγοῦ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν λέγειν περὶ τὰς τέχνας κυπτάζοντας* ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο τι, ἐπεὶ ἔγωγε ᾤμην καὶ ὄνειδος εἶναι. ἦδει γάρ, οἶμαι, ὡς ἄρα ἦδη πολυμαθίῃ νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει καθ' Ἡράκλειτον—which, while it omits the words *ἐσπουδακέναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα* and in so far countenances the results already obtained, at the same time introduces errors and difficulties of its own. First, since *οὐδέ* follows, *μηδὲ ἡγοῦ* is certainly faulty: and, as Cobet (l. c.) points out, *μηδὲ ἡγοῦ τὸ* is palaeographically identical with *μηδὲ ἢ τοῦτο*, the reading of the *anterastae*. That reading is however, as I

<sup>1</sup> In this suggestion I am anticipated by Cobet, *Δόγαις Ἑρμῆς* p. 531: *παρεμβίβληται γὰρ κακῶς τὸ [ἐσπουδακέναι*

*οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα]*, καὶ τῷ Κλήμεντι πολλὴν χάριν ἴσμεν τῷ τοῦτο μηνύσαντι.

have shown, itself unsatisfactory: and the remedy which in the *anterastae* appeared to be sufficient, will not avail in Clement's quotation: for, when Clement omits *μη οὐχ οὕτως, ὦ φίλε, ἔχουσιν*, it becomes necessary for him, if his quotation is to be grammatical and intelligible, to alter *οὐδ' ἢ τοῦτο* into *μη οὐκ ἢ τοῦτο*. This correction seems to me inevitable. Secondly, for *λέγειν*, which cannot possibly find a place within the quotation, I would write *λέγει*, and take it in close conjunction with Clement's words *κάν τῷ Δημοδόκῳ, εἰ δὴ τοῦ Πλάτωνος τὸ σύγγραμμα*. Thirdly, as Dindorf has seen, *κυπτάζοντα* should be substituted for *κυπτάζοντας*. Fourthly, in *ἦδει γάρ, οἶμαι, ὥς ἄρα ἦδη πολυμαθὴν νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει*, I cannot find a satisfactory sense for *ἦδη*, and I am inclined to think that *ἢ δὴ* should be substituted for it. Similarly in i ii § 19 = Potter 327 *καὶ ἄλλως ἢ πολυμαθία διασυστατικὴ τυγχάνει*, the superfluous *δια* prefixed to *συστατικὴ* seems to me to represent a *δὴ* appended to *πολυμαθία*.

In (3) Clement supplements his quotation from *republic* v 475 DE by less exact references to *republic* vii, where the *προπαιδεία* is carefully distinguished from the knowledge of the *ἀγαθόν*. Hence, when for *ἐτέρων μὲν ὄντων τὰγαθοῦ ὁδῶν, ὥσπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰγαθόν* Potter proposes *ἐτέρων μὲν ὄντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐτέρων δὲ ὁδῶν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὰγαθόν*, thus obscuring, if not obliterating, the reference, he is certainly wrong. I doubt whether it is necessary to do anything more than to place the comma before *ὁδῶν* instead of after it. Clement seems to me to say 'the good, and what may be regarded as ways to it, being different things.' For the order of the words *ὁδῶν ὥσπερ* *δέ*, compare VII xv § 91 = 888 Potter, where *μέν* is the third word in a phrase, as *δέ* is here. The trajection of *μέν*, which, if I am right, would properly follow *τὰγαθοῦ*, does not dismay me.



§ 2. *stromata* II xxii § 133 = 500 Potter<sup>1</sup>.

Ξενοκράτης τε ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀποδίδωσι κτήσιν τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ὑπηρετικῆς αὐτῇ δυνάμεως. εἶτα ὥς μὲν ἐν ᾧ γίνεται φαίνεται λέγων τὴν ψυχὴν, ὥς δ' ὑφ' ὧν τὰς ἀρετάς, ὥς δ' ἐξ ὧν ὥς μερῶν τὰς καλὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς σπουδαίας ἔξεις τε καὶ διαθέσεις καὶ κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις, ὥς τούτων οὐκ ἄνευ τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκτός. ὁ γὰρ Ξενοκράτους γνώριμος Πολέμων φαίνεται τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀντάρκειαν εἶναι βουλούμενος ἀγαθῶν πάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων. δογματίζει γοῦν χωρὶς μὲν ἀρετῆς μηδέποτε ἂν εὐδαιμονίαν ὑπάρχειν, δίχα δὲ καὶ τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀντάρκη πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι.

This passage has a certain interest for historians of philosophy, inasmuch as they are dependent upon it for their account of the teaching of Xenocrates and Polemo about external goods and their relation to the *ἀγαθόν*. Unluckily the words which describe Xenocrates' position, ὥς τούτων οὐκ ἄνευ τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, are, as they stand, no better than nonsense. For they can mean only 'since these are indispensable conditions of bodily and external goods,' whereas it is inconceivable that Xenocrates should have regarded 'noble actions, and righteous habits, dispositions, motions, and states' as means by which bodily and external goods might be obtained. Brandis indeed rests content with the existing text, and paraphrases accordingly<sup>2</sup>; but I can hardly think that any one will agree with him.

Recognizing the need of emendation, Zeller, in place of ὥς τούτων οὐκ ἄνευ, reads ὥς δ' ὧν οὐκ ἄνευ: and this conjecture is accepted without question by R. Heinze in his *Xenocrates*

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this note was communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society, 30 November 1893. See *Proceedings*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> "Er rechnete daher zu ihren Bestandtheilen, ausser den sittlichen Handlungen, Beschaffenheiten und Fertigkeiten, auch die Bewegungen und

Verhältnisse, ohne welche die leiblichen und äusseren Güter nicht erlangt werden können." *Gesch. d. Gr.-Röm. Ph.* II ii 1, p. 34. It will be observed that Brandis connects the debatable clause with *κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις* only; and that there is nothing in the text to justify this limitation.



pp. 148, 189; by Wellmann in the eighth edition of Ritter and Preller's compendium, § 363; and presumably by M. Heinze in the eighth edition of Ueberweg's *Grundriss*, § 44, p. 192. Thus Clement is made to say, on the one hand, that, according to Xenocrates, bodily and external goods are indispensable to happiness—ὡς δ' ὃν οὐκ ἄνευ τὰ σωματικά καὶ τὰ ἐκτός; and on the other hand, that according to Polemo, virtue, independently of goods bodily and external, is all-sufficient—δίχα δὲ καὶ τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκτός τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτάρκη πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι.

Tradition however represents Xenocrates and Polemo as agreed in their theory of happiness and of the relations in which goods and evils stand to it<sup>1</sup>. How can this be, if, according to Xenocrates, bodily and external goods are indispensable to happiness, while, according to Polemo, they are not so? The difficulty has not escaped the attention of Zeller, who seeks to dispose of it by distinguishing between 'happiness' and 'perfection of happiness'; and apparently his reconciliation is accepted by the other critics whom I have named.

Zeller supposes that by εὐδαιμονία is meant, in the paragraph about Xenocrates, the perfection of happiness as opposed to happiness<sup>2</sup>, and in the paragraph about Polemo happiness as

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *Tusc. disp.* v. 13, 39: 31, 87 = R. Heinze, §§ 84, 85.

<sup>2</sup> "Und soll auch nur die Tugend das sein was sie [die Glückseligkeit] erzeugt, nur die edeln Thätigkeiten und Eigenschaften das, worin sie ihrem eigentlichen Wesen nach besteht, so soll sie doch auch der leiblichen und äusseren Güter nicht entbehren können, welche somit,...zwar nicht als Ursachen, aber doch als Mitursachen der Glückseligkeit zu betrachten sind. Ebendeshalb kann aber, wenn nach der eigentlichen und positiven Bedingung der Glückseligkeit gefragt wird, auch die Tugend allein als solche genannt, das glückselige Leben dem tugendhaften gleichgesetzt, der Weise muss unter

allen Umständen für glücklich erklärt werden. Dass er aber trotzdem, wenn die Güter zweiten Rangs fehlen, nicht schlechthin glücklich sein sollte, diess musste vom stoischen Standpunkt aus allerdings unbegreiflich gefunden werden, der akademischen Mässigung und dem xenokratischen Begriff der Glückseligkeit entsprach es durchaus; denn wenn der Besitz derselben an das Zusammentreffen mehrerer Bedingungen geknüpft ist, so wird er mehr oder weniger vollkommen sein, je nachdem diese Bedingungen vollständiger oder unvollständiger vorhanden sind, die Glückseligkeit wird mithin einer Steigerung und Verminderung fähig sein, es wird erlaubt sein, zwischen dem glückseli-

opposed to its perfection<sup>1</sup>. Thus, according to Xenocrates, bodily and external goods are necessary, not indeed to happiness, but to its perfection: according to Polemo, virtue, apart from bodily and external goods, is of itself sufficient, not indeed for the perfection of happiness, but for happiness short of perfection. Plainly these doctrines thus attributed to Xenocrates and Polemo respectively are quite consistent, and may well have been entertained by both.

Now if the two statements had occurred separately, *εὐδαιμονία* might conceivably have stood in the one for 'happiness' and in the other for 'perfection of happiness.' But here, where the two statements, the statement about Xenocrates and the statement about Polemo, occur in conjunction,—indeed in very close conjunction, the two paragraphs being linked together, not only by a connecting *γάρ*, but also by an emphatic reference to the personal relations of the two philosophers,—the word *εὐδαιμονία*, in the absence of qualification, should surely bear throughout one and the same meaning. We cannot suppose that within the space of a dozen lines Clement uses the word *εὐδαιμονία* in the two contrasted senses: and consequently the distinction between 'happiness' and 'perfection of happiness' is not available for the resolution of the difficulty which Zeller's conjecture creates.

Reverting to the text, *ὡς τούτων οὐκ ἄνευ τὰ σωματικά καὶ τὰ ἐκτός*, let us substitute X for the second T in *τούτων*. Then, dividing afresh, we have *ὥστ' οὐχ ὧν οὐκ ἄνευ τὰ σωματικά καὶ τὰ ἐκτός*: 'so that 'bodily and external goods are *not* indispensable conditions of happiness.' The alteration is palaeo-

gen und dem allerglücklichsten Leben zu unterscheiden." Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* II i 1029, 1030.

<sup>1</sup> "Sein Wahlspruch ist das naturgemässe Leben. Dieses beruht aber ihm zufolge auf zwei Bedingungen, von denen die eine in der Tugend besteht, die andere im Besitz derjenigen Güter, welche uns die Natur ursprünglich begehren heisst, wie Gesundheit und ähnliches. So unerlässlich aber auch das zweite von diesen Stücken zum

vollen Glück ist, so steht es doch seinem Werth nach tief unter dem ersten: ohne Tugend, sagte Polemo, sei überhaupt keine Glückseligkeit möglich, ohne die leiblichen und äusseren Güter nur nicht die vollendete Glückseligkeit; wie man sieht, ganz dasselbe, was auch schon Platon, Speusippus und Xenokrates gelehrt hatten." Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* II i 1045, 1046.

graphically legitimate, the interchange of T and X being recognized by Bast, *commentatio* p. 738: and the meaning obtained is, I think, altogether satisfactory. Inasmuch as according to Xenocrates the parts of happiness are 'noble actions, and righteous habits, dispositions, motions, and states,' and not, as Aristotle would say, *ἐνέργειαι*, Clement *infers* that Xenocrates did not account bodily and external goods indispensable to happiness. The inference is a reasonable one: for, though *ἐνέργειαι* are dependent upon the present possession of bodily and external goods, *ἐξέεις* are not so. But it is only an inference: so Clement strengthens his position by an appeal to the teaching of Xenocrates' friend Polemo, who plainly affirmed that virtue, apart from bodily and external goods is sufficient to make *εὐδαιμονία*.

HENRY JACKSON.

21 July 1899.



FURTHER NOTES ON PASSAGES IN THE SEVENTH  
BOOK OF THE *EUDEMIAN ETHICS*.

*Eudemian ethics* H ii § 8 = 1236<sup>a</sup> 14 φίλος δὴ γίνεται ὅταν φιλούμενος ἀντιφιλή, καὶ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνῃ πως αὐτούς.

This statement about φίλος is not an inference from what has been said about φιλεῖν, but supplementary to it. Hence for δὴ, read δέ.

ii § 14 = 1236<sup>a</sup> 33 τούτων ἡ μὲν διὰ τὸ χρήσιμόν ἐστιν ἡ [διὰ] τῶν πλείστων φιλία (διὰ γὰρ τὸ χρήσιμοι εἶναι φιλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, καὶ μέχρι τούτου, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία

Γλαῦκ', ἐπικούρος ἀνὴρ τὸν σοφὸν φίλον ἔσκε μάχεται, καὶ

οὐκέτι γινώσκουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Μεγαρήας), ἡ δὲ δι' ἡδονὴν τῶν νέων (τούτου γὰρ αἰσθησιν ἔχουσιν· διὸ εὐμετάβολος φιλία ἡ τῶν νέων· μεταβαλλόντων γὰρ τὰ ἦθη κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας μεταβάλλει καὶ τὸ ἡδύ), ἡ δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν τῶν βελτίστων.

So Susemihl<sup>1</sup>. The preposition διὰ which in the MSS precedes τῶν πλείστων is not represented in the Latin version, and is rejected by Sylburg, Bekker, Bussemaker, Fritzsche, and Susemihl. It must be admitted that it is better away. But again the article ἡ, which precedes διὰ, is a superfluity or worse than a superfluity. And if ἡ is expunged, the ν of ἐστίν should go also. Now the letters in question, NHΔΙΑ, duly divided, give the phrase νὴ Δία: and I venture to suggest that, so written, they should be retained in the text. It seems to me

<sup>1</sup> As in my former paper, vol. xxvi pp. 149—160, so in this, I take as my basis Susemihl's text and critical

notes. The better I know this admirable piece of work, the more grateful I am to its author.

that *νῆ Δία*, thus interposed, emphasizes the contrast between the friendship of utility, which is the friendship of the generality of men, the friendship of pleasure, which is the friendship of the young, and the friendship of virtue, which is peculiar to the select few. That the familiar phrase might occur in writings of this sort, appears from its occurrence in *politics* Γ vi § 1 = 1281<sup>a</sup> 16, § 5 = 1281<sup>b</sup> 18 (cited in the Berlin Index).

On the corrupt hexameter *Γλαῦκ', ἐπίκουρος ἀνὴρ τὸν σοφὸν φίλον ἔσκε μάχεται*, Susemihl comments as follows: "36. *ἐπίκουρος ἀνὴρ*] Ἐπικυδεῖδη ci. Bu. || τὸν σοφὸν φίλον corrupta, τὸν σὸν φίλον Sylburgius Bk. Bu. in textu, τόσατον φίλος ci. Sylburgius, τόσσον φίλος Fr., γρ. τὸ σοφὸν φίλον Victorius, idemque et μασῆται vel potius μασᾶται ci. Bu. ||" I cannot get a satisfactory meaning from any of these restorations: nor do I think that *ἔσκε* can stand in the sense of "so long as," which the editors appear tacitly to give to it. I conjecture that the line should run *Γλαῦκ', ἐπίκουρον ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφὸς φιλεῖ ὥς κε μάχεται*. I suppose that, whereas *φι* with *λ'* superposed represents, inter alia, *φίλον* and *φιλεῖ* (see below on §§ 40, 41), a scribe, finding this compendium, has chosen the wrong word: and that, having by an easy oversight assimilated *ἐπίκουρον* to *ἀνὴρ*, he (or some one else) has consequently altered the case of *ὁ σοφός*. With *ὥς κε*, compare *ὥς ἄν* at § 20, 1236<sup>b</sup> 17.

ii §§ 18—22 = 1236<sup>b</sup> 10 καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι ἂν εἶεν φίλοι ἀλλήλοις καὶ διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ διὰ τὸ ἡδύ. οἱ δ' ὅτι ἡ πρώτη οὐχ ὑπάρχει αὐτοῖς οὐ φασὶ φίλους εἶναι· ἀδικήσῃ γὰρ ὃ γε φαῦλος τὸν φαῦλον, οἱ δ' ἀδικούμενοι οὐ φιλοῦσι σφᾶς αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ φιλοῦσι μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν πρώτην φιλίαν, ἐπεὶ τὰς γε ἐτέρας οὐθὲν κωλύει. δι' ἡδονὴν γὰρ ὑπομένουσιν ἀλλήλους βλαπτόμενοι, ὥς ἂν ὦσιν ἀκρατεῖς. οὐ δοκοῦσι δ' οὐδ' οἱ δι' ἡδονὴν φιλοῦντες ἀλλήλους φίλοι εἶναι, ὅταν κατ' ἀκρίβειαν ζητῶσιν, ὅτι οὐχ ἡ πρώτη. ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ βέβαιος, αὕτη δὲ ἀβέβαιος. ἡ δ' ἐστὶ μὲν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, φιλία, οὐκ ἐκείνη δέ, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐκείνης. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνως μόνον λέγειν τὸν φίλον, βιάζεσθαι τὰ φαινόμενα ἐστὶ, καὶ παράδοξα λέγειν ἀναγκαῖον· καθ' ἓνα δὲ λόγον πάσας ἀδύνατον.



So Susemihl. The purport of these sentences is plain: 'bad men also may be friends to one another on account of utility and on account of pleasure. But, because they are incapable of the primary friendship, men say that such persons are not friends: for the bad man will wrong the bad man, and those who wrong one another are not fond of one another. *The truth is however that they are fond of one another, but their fondness is not the primary friendship.* There is however nothing to prevent the other friendships: *for, for the sake of pleasure, bad men overlook their mutual injuries.* Precisians say that these are not friends, because their friendship is not the primary friendship: but it is unpractical thus to limit the use of the word.' There are here two or three details which call for remark. First, the sentence which I have paraphrased 'the truth is however that they are fond of one another, but their fondness is not the primary friendship,' stands in Susemihl's text, οἱ δὲ φιλοῦσι μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν πρώτην φιλίαν: and this reading is supported by the Latin version and adopted in the Aldine edition. But I can see no reason for deserting the tradition of the MSS, which give, not οἱ δὲ φιλοῦσι, but οὐδ' οὐ φιλοῦσι μὲν, 'it is not however true that they are not fond of one another.' Indeed the added emphasis of the negative negated seems to me a gain. Secondly, in the sentence δι' ἡδονὴν γὰρ ὑπομένουσιν ἀλλήλους βλαπτόμενοι, ὥς ἂν ὧσιν ἀκρατεῖς, ὑπομένουσιν is Bonitz's correction of the MS reading ὑπονοοῦσιν. Bonitz does not give a translation: but if he means 'for by reason of pleasure they put up with injury from one another,' I should have expected not ἀλλήλους βλαπτόμενοι, but ὑπ' ἀλλήλων βλαπτόμενοι or ἀλλήλους βλάπτοντας. For myself, I think that ὑπονοοῦσιν represents either οὐπω νοοῦσιν or οὐπω ὑπονοοῦσιν. Correcting accordingly, and putting the comma before βλαπτόμενοι instead of after it, I would translate: 'for by reason of pleasure they do not at present appreciate [or suspect] one another, being hindered therein in proportion as they are incontinent.' It will be seen that οὐπω leads the way to the subsequent recognition of the temporary character of bad men's friendship. Thirdly, I suspect that, between λέγειν and



βιάζεσθαι, τὴν φιλίαν should be substituted for τὸν φίλον: see below on §§ 40, 41. Both in the antecedent and in the subsequent context it is the friendship, and not the friend, which is in question.

ii § 26 = 1236<sup>b</sup> 36 τὰ τε γὰρ μὴ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθὰ ἀλλὰ κακὰ ἀπλῶς τύχῃ φευκτά. Susemihl comments: "37. \* \* τύχῃ Bu., <ἀν> τύχῃ mg. rc. P<sup>b</sup> Fr., graviolem corruptelam recte suspicatur Spengelius." Surely ἀπλῶς after κακὰ is impossible. Read therefore ἀλλὰ κακὰ ἂν πως τύχῃ, φευκτά.

ii §§ 27, 28 = 1237<sup>a</sup> 2 ἂ δεῖ συμφωνῆσαι. καὶ τοῦτο ἡ ἀρετὴ ποιεῖ καὶ ἡ πολιτικὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ὅπως οἷς μήπω ἐστὶ γένηται. \* \* εὐθέτως δὲ καὶ πρὸ ὁδοῦ ἀνθρώπος ὦν (φύσει γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθὰ), ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀντὶ γυναικὸς καὶ εὐφυῆς ἀφύου, διὰ τοῦ ἡδέος δὲ ἡ ὁδός· ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὰ καλὰ ἡδέα. ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο διαφωνῇ, οὕτω σπουδαῖον τελέως κτλ. So Susemihl, who comments: "3. γένηται, \* \* εὐθέτως δὲ Spengelius, qui probe intellexit periisse initium protaseos, cuius apodosis sunt 6. ἀνάγκη—7. ἡδέα, itaque γένηται. <ἐπεὶ δὲ \* \* > εὐθέτως δὲ ci. Susem., γένηται, <ἀν ᾧ> εὐθέτως τε secundum vestigia interpretis ('modo iam etc.') falsissime Fr. || 4. ὦν φύσει <σπουδαῖος> ci. Bu. (non melius) || 5. ἀντὶ] ἂν τι \* \* Fr., ἂν ἐπιθυμῇ ci. idem (pessime) || 6. εὐφυῆς ἀφύου Bu. Fr., ἀφύης εὐφύου II In. Ald. Bk., εὐφυῆς <ἀντ'> ἀφύου admodum dubitanter ci. Susem. ||" I cannot think that the scheme proposed by Spengel and accepted by Susemihl is at all hopeful. Am I too bold if I suggest that the words ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὰ καλὰ ἡδέα should be appended to ὅπως οἷς μήπω ἐστὶ γένηται? Making this transposition, and inserting the article ὁ before ἀνθρώπος ὦν, but for the moment ignoring the words καὶ εὐφυῆς ἀφύου, I would paraphrase as follows: 'these, τὰ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθὰ and τὸ αὐτῷ ἀγαθόν, should be in harmony. Their harmony is brought about by virtue, and statecraft exists to make what is moral pleasant to those who at present do not find it so. One who is a human being and not a brute, a man and not a woman, is ready for this and on the road to it, and the road lies through pleasure.' But what is to be made of καὶ ἀφύης εὐφύου; for such, and not καὶ εὐφυῆς ἀφύου, is the

reading of the MSS. I find it difficult to believe, either that *ἐνφυῆς ἀφνοῦς* will stand for *ἐνφυῆς ἀντί ἀφνοῦς*, or that *ἀντί* has been dropped. Is it possible that *ἀφνῆς ἐνφνοῦς* represents *ἐνφυῆς ἐνφνοῦς*, 'the clever son of a clever father'? For the genitive without a preposition, compare Sophocles *Antigone* 38 *εἴτ' ἐνγενῆς πέφυκας εἴτ' ἐσθλῶν κακή*.

ii §§ 29, 30 = 1237<sup>a</sup> 10 ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ πρώτη φιλία κατ' ἀρετὴν, ἔσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθοί. τοῦτο δ' οὐχ ὅτι χρήσιμοι, ἀλλ' ἄλλον τρόπον διχῶς γὰρ ἔχει τὸ τῷδὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθόν. καὶ ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὠφέλιμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξεων. ἄλλο γὰρ τὸ ἀπλῶς ὠφέλιμον καὶ τὸ καλὸν τοιοῦτον γυμνάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ φαρμακεύεσθαι. ὥστε καὶ ἡ ἕξις ἡ ἀνθρώπου ἀρετή.

Susemihl comments "14. καλὸν τοιοῦτον (τοιοῦτο M<sup>b</sup>) haud integra, καλὸν τοιοῦτον, <οἶον τὸ> Spengelius, αὐτῷ (αὐτῷ Bu., ἐκάστῳ Fr.), οἶον τὸ Bonitzius Bu. Fr." Surely καλόν is wholly out of place. What we want is, I think, not τὸ ἀπλῶς ὠφέλιμον καὶ καλόν, but something answering to τὸ τῷδὶ ἀγαθόν καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθόν above; in fact, some such phrase as τὸ ἀπλῶς ὠφέλιμον καὶ τῷδὶ. Now ΤΟΚΑΛ might represent ΤΟΙCΔΙ: for K = IC, A = Δ, Λ = I (Bast, p. 722 &c.). Whence, tentatively, I suggest: ἄλλο γὰρ τὸ ἀπλῶς ὠφέλιμον καὶ τοισδί, ὃν τρόπον τὸ γυμνάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ φαρμακεύεσθαι.

ii §§ 35, 36 = 1237<sup>a</sup> 36 διὸ τὸ φιλεῖν χαίρειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ἐστίν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ φιλεῖσθαι φιλητοῦ ἐνέργεια, τὸ δὲ καὶ φιλίας, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν ἐμψύχῳ, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀψύχῳ φιλεῖται γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα.

The argument of this passage should be: 'therefore loving is enjoyment, being loved is not: for loving is an energy of the subject, being loved belongs to the object also; loving is in the animate, being loved is in the inanimate also, for inanimates also are loved.' Now the clause τὸ μὲν [sc. φιλεῖν] ἐν ἐμψύχῳ, τὸ δὲ [sc. φιλεῖσθαι] καὶ ἐν ἀψύχῳ exactly expresses the required meaning. But τὸ μὲν γὰρ φιλεῖσθαι φιλητοῦ ἐνέργεια, τὸ δὲ καὶ φιλίας is nonsense: since (1) it absurdly represents φιλεῖσθαι as an ἐνέργεια, (2) when it affirms that φιλεῖν belongs to φιλία also, it absurdly implies that φιλεῖν belongs to τὸ



φιλητόν. I see nothing for it but to substitute φιλεῖν for φιλεῖσθαι, φίλου for φιλητοῦ, and φιλητοῦ for φιλίας. I conceive that the corruptions are due to the use of φι with λ' superposed for the various parts of φίλος and its derivatives: for which use, see my note on §§ 39—41.

ii § 38 = 1237<sup>b</sup> 5 οὐδὲ δεῖ ἐμποδίζειν οὐθὲν τῶν συμβεβηκότων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν εὐφραίνειν. τί γὰρ σφόδρα δυσώδης λείπεται; ἀγαπᾶται γὰρ τῷ εὐνοεῖν, συζῆ δὲ μή.

Susemihl comments: "5. δεῖ In. et re. P<sup>b</sup>, δὴ Π Ald. Bk. in textu || 6. εἰ γὰρ σφόδρα δυσώδης, λείπεται ἀγαπᾶται cī. Bk., rec. Bu. Fr. (fors. recte) || 7. τῷ Fr., τὸ cet. || συζῆ δὲ μή] οὐ συζῆ δέ? Spengelius." I do not understand either the original text or the proposed corrections. Now the negative μή suggests that the verb to which it is attached, whatever that verb may be, should be in the infinitive. But ἀγαπᾶται γὰρ τὸ εὐνοεῖν συζῆν δὲ μή, 'good will without community of life is liked,' is a reason, not for deserting the σφόδρα δυσώδης, but for overlooking his misfortune. Whence, in place of λείπεται, I would write φιλεῖται: compare 1237<sup>a</sup> 39 φιλεῖται γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα. With this change, the author of the treatise asks 'Why is it that A is fond of B, who is σφόδρα δυσώδης?' and answers 'because A desires B's good will provided that he does not live with him.' But with this proviso introduced, the illustration hardly answers to the proposition which it purports to illustrate: and accordingly I propose further for συζῆν to substitute εὖ ὄζειν. Finally, it is obvious for εὐφραίνειν to write εὐφραίνει. I would write then—οὐδὲ δεῖ ἐμποδίζειν οὐθὲν τῶν συμβεβηκότων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν εὐφραίνει. τί γὰρ <ό> σφόδρα δυσώδης φιλεῖται; ἀγαπᾶται γὰρ τὸ εὐνοεῖν εὖ ὄζειν δὲ μή: that is to say—'and no attendant circumstance should neutralize the good. For instance, why is it that people are fond of a σφόδρα δυσώδης? It is because they like his good will in spite of his infirmity.'

ii §§ 39—41 = 1237<sup>b</sup> 8 αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ πρώτη φιλία, ἣν πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι δι' αὐτὴν καὶ δοκοῦσι καὶ ἀμφισβητοῦνται. βέβαιον γάρ τι δοκεῖ ἡ φιλία· μόνη δ' αὕτη βέβαιος. τὸ γὰρ κεκριμένον βέβαιον, τὰ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ γινόμενα



μη δὲ ῥαδίως [οὐ] ποιεῖ τὴν κρίσιν ὀρθήν. οὐκ ἔστι δ' ἄνευ  
 πίστεως φιλία βέβαιος· ἡ δὲ πίστις οὐκ ἄνευ χρόνου. δεῖ γὰρ  
 πεῖραν λαβεῖν, ὥσπερ λέγει καὶ Θεόγνις·

οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης ἀνδρὸς νόον οὐδὲ γυναικός,  
 πρὶν πειραθείης ὥσπερ ὑποζυγίου.

οὐδ' ἄνευ χρόνου φίλος, ἀλλὰ βούλονται φίλοι, καὶ μάλιστα  
 λανθάνει ἡ τοιαύτη ἕξις ὡς φιλία. ὅταν γὰρ προθύμως ἔχωσι  
 φίλοι εἶναι, διὰ τὸ πάνθ' ὑπηρετεῖν τὰ φιλικὰ ἀλλήλοις, οἴονται  
 οὐ βούλεσθαι φίλοι, ἀλλ' εἶναι φίλοι. τὸ δ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων συμβαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς φιλίας· οὐ γὰρ εἰ βούλονται  
 ὑγιαίνειν, ὑγιαίνουνσιν, ὥστ' οὐδ' εἰ φίλοι βούλονται, ἤδη καὶ  
 φίλοι εἰσίν.

Omitting οὐ after ῥαδίως, Bonitz, *observationes* p. 64, raises the question whether *διαλυόμενα* should be appended. Fritzsche and Susemihl are content to omit the negative. I think that it should be retained, *γινόμενα* being understood with it. The words τὰ μὴ ταχὺ γινόμενα μηδὲ ῥαδίως οὐ will then mean 'what comes into existence slowly but surely.' And now I come to more serious difficulties. The sentence οὐδ' ἄνευ χρόνου φίλος ἀλλὰ βούλονται φίλοι is doubly unsatisfactory; inasmuch as (1) the change from singular to plural is awkward, and (2) the omission of εἶναι after βούλονται is unjustifiable. Now Bast writes (Schäfer's *Gregorius Corinthius*, p. 848), "φίλος, φίλιος, Φίλων, Φιλόξενος, multaeque aliae voces, quae a syllaba φιλ incipiunt, a festinantibus scribis indicantur sola syllaba φι, cui Lambda superscribunt. Itaque ut veram vocem eruas, consideranda est series orationis: et vel sic res passim caret successu." In proof of this he alleges convincing instances: and I may add that in the Cambridge MS of the *Eudemians*, though not in the passage before us, φι with λ' superposed stands indifferently for φιλία, φιλίας, φίλῳ, φίλος, φίλου. Let us suppose that the existing MSS of the *Eudemians* are derived from a MS which in this passage, where our texts give φίλος, φίλοι, had φι with λ' superposed: and let us interpret the symbol in such a way that in each instance sense and grammar may be secured. We shall immediately and unhesitatingly write οὐδ' ἄνευ χρόνου φιλοῦσιν ἀλλὰ βούλονται

φιλεῖν, οἶονται οὐ βούλεσθαι φιλεῖν ἀλλ' εἶναι φίλοι, οὐδ' εἴ  
 φιλεῖν βούλονται ἤδη καὶ φίλοι εἰσίν. But οὐδ' ἄνευ χρόνου  
 φιλοῦσιν ἀλλὰ βούλονται φιλεῖν is a trochaic line, presumably  
 a proverb adapted for its present use by the substitution of  
 οὐδ' for οὐκ: and with this fact staring us in the face, it is  
 obvious to suppose that at the beginning of § 40 *φιλία* has  
 similarly taken the place of *φίλος*, and that the author has  
 here incorporated in his text an iambic fragment, οὐκ ἄνευ  
 πίστεως φίλος | βέβαιος, ἣ δὲ πίστις οὐκ ἄνευ χρόνου. That  
 he would not scruple to add to a quotation such words as δέ  
 ἔστι δέ, appears from 1235<sup>b</sup> 20, where, when he cites οὐθεὶς  
 ἐραστῆς ὅστις οὐκ αἰεὶ φιλεῖ, he inserts the γάρ which is  
 necessary to bring the quotation into his argument. In a word  
 we have in this one passage no fewer than five instances in  
 which the compendium noted by Bast has been misinterpreted  
 by copyists. Compare also §§ 14, 22, 36, 50 of this chapter.

ii §§ 49, 50 = 1238<sup>a</sup> 11 ἐκ δὲ τούτων φανερόν ὅτι ὀρθῶς  
 λέγεται ὅτι ἡ φιλία τῶν βεβαίων, ὥσπερ ἡ εὐδαιμονία τῶν  
 αὐτάρκων. καὶ ὀρθῶς εἴρηται

ἡ γὰρ φύσις βέβαιον, οὐ τὰ χρήματα.

πολὺ δὲ κάλλιον εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἡ ἀρετὴ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ ὅτι χρόνος  
 λέγεται δεικνύναι τὸν φιλούμενον, καὶ αἱ ἀτυχίαι μᾶλλον τῶν  
 εὐτυχίων. τότε γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι κοινὰ <τὰ> τῶν φίλων κτλ.

It seems to me that three or four trifling alterations are  
 required in these sentences: (1) it is obvious to put a larger  
 stop, indeed a full stop, after *φύσεως*, and a smaller stop, say a  
 colon, after *τὰ χρήματα*; (2) ὅτι χρόνος λέγεται κτλ cannot  
 depend either upon *φανερόν* or upon *ὀρθῶς λέγεται* or upon  
*ὀρθῶς εἴρηται* or upon *κάλλιον εἰπεῖν*, whilst it is obvious that  
*χρόνος* is at once connected with, and distinguished from, a  
*ἀτυχία*; in order to escape from the difficulty created by the  
 ὅτι, and at the same time to mark the relation of *χρόνος* to a  
*ἀτυχία*, I would read καὶ ὁ τε χρόνος λέγεται κτλ; (3) what  
 we want is not so much τὸν φιλούμενον, as rather τὸν φίλον  
 and, on the grounds stated above on §§ 40, 41, I have no scruple  
 in making the alteration; (4) where the MSS give τῶν φίλων



and Susemihl τὰ τῶν φίλων, I should prefer the traditional phrase, τὰ φίλων, for which see *Nic. eth.* viii ix § 1 = 1159<sup>b</sup> 31.

ii §§ 51, 52 = 1238<sup>a</sup> 25 ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀπλῶς ἡδὺ τῷ τέλει ὀριστέον καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ. ὁμολογήσαιεν δ' ἂν καὶ οἱ πολλοί, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων μόνον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόματος καλοῦσι γλύκιον τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἀποβαῖνον οὐχ ἡδύ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ συνεχές, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐξαπατᾷ.

Here ὅτι before ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων is a suggestion of Fritzsche's, the MSS having οὐκ, while ἐξαπατᾷ is a conjecture of Bussemaker's, the MSS having ἐξαπατᾶν. I think that in both places the reading of the MSS should be retained, but that οὐ should be inserted after τοῦτο γάρ. Apparently the commentators recognize only (1) an earlier impression of sense and (2) a later. As I understand, the author distinguishes (1) an earlier impression of sense (the wine, agreeable), (2) a later (the wine, no longer agreeable), and (3) what he calls 'the consequences' (a subsequent headache, κραιπάλῃ); but in the present instance he declines to take 'the consequences' into account. Writing τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀποβαῖνον οὐχ ἡδύ, I would paraphrase: 'in defining the absolutely pleasurable, we must look to the end and to the duration of the pleasure. This would be admitted even by the generality of people, judging, not merely in view of the consequences, but in the way in which they pronounce upon the merits of a glass of wine: for, when they say that it is not good, they are thinking, not of the consequences, but of the fact that, though at first they fancied they liked it, it does not continue to please.'

iv §§ 5, 6 = 1239<sup>a</sup> 17 ὅταν δὲ ὑπερβολὴ ᾗ, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἐπιζητοῦσιν ὡς δεῖ ἢ ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι ἢ ὁμοίως ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι, οἶον εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ τὸν θεόν. φανερόν δὲ ὅτι φίλοι μὲν, ὅταν ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ, τὸ ἀντιφιλεῖν δ' ἔστιν ἄνευ τοῦ φίλους εἶναι.

The purport of the former of these sentences is, that, where there is great disparity, the inferior does not expect a return, or at any rate a like return, of his affection; and the relation of man to God is alleged as the strongest possible instance. Fritzsche, in his version, puts the required meaning into οἶον εἴ



τις ἀξιοῖ τὸν θεόν by means of an ellipse: "exempli gratia si quis postulet, ut a deo summo ardore redametur, [ineptus esse videatur]." The subaudition is bold. It seems to me that, *for* εἰ τις, οὐθείς should be substituted. In the sentence which follows, the clause φανερόν δὲ ὅτι φίλοι μέν, ὅταν ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ, though meagre, is not, perhaps, unintelligible; but it is difficult to see the relevance of the supplementary clause, τὸ ἀντιφιλεῖν δ' ἔστιν ἄνευ τοῦ φίλους εἶναι. If however we duplicate the word ἀντιφιλεῖν, and read ὅταν ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ τὸ <ἀντιφιλεῖν>, ἀντιφιλεῖν δ' ἔστιν ἄνευ τοῦ φίλους εἶναι, the former clause gains in substance, and the latter clause's connection with it becomes clear: 'it is plain that men are friends when there is mutual affection on an equal footing; but, as shown above in § 2, there is such a thing as mutual affection where those who feel it are not friends.'

v §§ 3, 4 = 1239<sup>b</sup> 16 ὥστε οὕτως μὲν τὸ ὅμοιον φίλον, ὅτι <τὸ> ἀγαθὸν ὅμοιον, ἔστι δὲ ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἡδύ· τοῖς γὰρ ὁμοίοις ταῦθ' ἡδέα, καὶ ἕκαστον δὲ φύσει αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ἡδύ. διὸ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ αἱ ἔξεις καὶ συνημερεύσεις τοῖς ὁμογενέσιν ἡδισται ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις· καὶ ταύτη ἐνδέχεται καὶ τοὺς φαύλους ἀλλήλους φιλεῖν.

In this chapter the author refers the three kinds of friendship discriminated in ii §§ 13, 14, &c, to the two principles, ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ and ἐναντίον ἐναντίῳ, which are stated in i §§ 7—12. The friendship of virtue and the friendship of pleasure depend, he tells us, upon ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ, so that the friends are so on the strength of mutual likeness: but the friendship of utility depends upon ἐναντίον ἐναντίῳ, so that the friends are so on the strength of mutual unlikeness. At 1239<sup>b</sup> 16, leaving the friendship of virtue, which plainly depends upon ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ, since the good is ἀπλοῦν, the author passes to the friendship of pleasure. Like persons, he says, derive pleasure from the same things; and accordingly, as each is naturally pleasant to himself, he finds pleasure in the other who is like him. It is therefore the mutual resemblance of the two persons, and not, as in the case of the friendship of utility, their diversity, which makes them friends on the footing of pleasure. Later, at 1239<sup>b</sup> 20, we

are told that bad men are friendly in this way. So much is clear. But the intervening sentence—*διὸ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ αἱ ἔξεις καὶ συνημερεύσεις τοῖς ὁμογενέσιν ἥδιστα ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις*—is manifestly corrupt: and Susemihl's note—"19. αἱ ἔξεις (αἱ om. Π<sup>3</sup> et editiones) corrupta esse recte monet Fr."—adequately represents all that the commentators have to tell. I propose, first, to insert E before *φωναί*; secondly, in that word to substitute Δ for Α; thirdly, in *ἀλλήλοις* to substitute Δ for the third Α, and E for Ο. It will be seen that the three substitutions have good palaeographical warrant, whilst it may be thought that the insertion of E is the more excusable as it follows ΑΙ. In this way I get *διὸ καὶ ἐφ' ὧν δίκαιαι ἔξεις, καὶ συνημερεύσεις τοῖς ὁμογενέσιν ἥδιστα ἀλλ' ἡδεῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις. καὶ ταύτῃ ἐνδέχεται καὶ τοὺς φαύλους ἀλλήλους φιλεῖν*: 'therefore, in the case of persons of moral habits, [not only the society of the virtuous, but] daily intercourse also with persons of their own race is highly pleasurable: indeed such intercourse with the other animals is pleasurable also. And in this way it is possible even for the vicious to be fond of one another.' In case exception should be taken to the slovenly phrase *ἐφ' ὧν δίκαιαι ἔξεις*, I may note that this use of *ἐπὶ* is frequent in the *Eudemian ethics*, and I may quote in exemplification vi § 16 = 1240<sup>b</sup> 30 *διὸ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου μὲν δοκεῖ ἕκαστος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ φίλος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων οἷον ἵππος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ οὐκ ἄρα φίλος*<sup>1</sup>. With the statements made about *ἀγαθοί* and *φαῦλοι*, compare i § 5 = 1234<sup>b</sup> 34 and ii § 54 = 1238<sup>a</sup> 35 respectively. For *ἔξεις* in this connection, compare ii § 7 = 1236<sup>a</sup> 5 *τούτοις δὲ ἡδέα τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἔξεις ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ*.

vii § 2 = 1241<sup>a</sup> 7 *δοκεῖ δὲ ὥσπερ \* \* καὶ ἡ εὐνοια οὐκ αὐτοῦ εὐνοια τοῦ εὐνοιοζομένου εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ᾧ εὐνοεῖ*.

The word *εὐνοια*, which now stands before *τοῦ εὐνοιοζομένου*, is plainly a superfluity, whilst the genitives *τοῦ εὐνοιοζομένου* and *τοῦ ᾧ εὐνοεῖ* seem to want a preposition. Read therefore *οὐκ αὐτοῦ ἔνεκα τοῦ εὐνοιοζομένου*, comparing for the use of *ἔνεκα* in

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me unnecessary either to add *οἷ*, after *ζῴων* or to suppose a lacuna before *οὐκ ἄρα*.



this connection *magna moralia* B xii § 8 = 1212<sup>a</sup> 7 γένοιτο δ' ἂν ἡ εὐνοια φιλία, εἰ προσλάβοι βούλησιν τοῦ τὰγαθὰ δυνατὸς ὦν πρᾶξαι πράττειν ἐκείνου ἔνεκεν ᾧ ἐστὶν εὐνους. The editors whose conjectures are summarized by Susemihl, one and all suppose that εὐνοια is compared in this respect with ἡ φιλία or rather with ἡ κατ' ἀρετὴν φιλία. For myself, I fancy, but plainly cannot prove, that ὥσπερ καὶ represents ὡς or οἷς ὑπάρχει, or ὡς or οἷς ὑπῆρχεν, the phrase being added in order to distinguish the initial εὐνοια here in question from the reciprocal εὐνοια which always accompanies friendship: ἔστι γὰρ ἡ εὐνοια ἀρχὴ φιλίας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ φίλος πᾶς εὐνους, ὁ δὲ εὐνους οὐ πᾶς φίλος. § 3 = 1241<sup>a</sup> 12.

vii §§ 3—5 = 1241<sup>a</sup> 13 ἀρχομένῳ γὰρ ἔοικεν ὁ εὐνοῶν μόνον, διὸ ἀρχὴ φιλίας, ἀλλ' οὐ φιλία.

\* \* δοκοῦσι γὰρ οἳ τε φίλοι ὁμονοεῖν καὶ οἱ ὁμονοοῦντες φίλοι εἶναι. ἔστι δ' οὐ περὶ πάντα ἡ ὁμόνοια ἡ φιλική, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰ πρακτὰ τοῖς ὁμονοοῦσι, καὶ ὅσα εἰς τὸ συζῆν συντείνει, οὔτε μόνον κατὰ διάνοιαν ἢ κατὰ ὄρεξιν (ἔστι γὰρ τὰναντία τὸ κινεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ἀκρατεῖ διαφωνεῖ τοῦτο), οὐ δὲ κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁμονοεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡ ὁμόνοια· οἳ γε φαῦλοι ταῦτα προαιρούμενοι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες βλάπτουσιν ἀλλήλους.

I am not satisfied that it is necessary with Bonitz and Susemihl to assume a lacuna between the discussions of εὐνοια and ὁμόνοια. As I understand, the author says that εὐνοια is, not friendship, but the beginning of it: and that, if there is to be friendship, there must be, not only εὐνοια, but also ὁμόνοια. And so he passes from the one to the other. They are however intimately connected; and accordingly at 1241<sup>a</sup> 1 they are together brought upon the stage, and at 1241<sup>a</sup> 34 they are together dismissed from it. The transition having been effected, the author proceeds to explain his conception of φιλικὴ ὁμόνοια. As I understand, he tells us (1) that it is concerned, not with everything, but with τὰ πρακτὰ τοῖς ὁμονοοῦσι καὶ ὅσα εἰς τὸ συζῆν συντείνει: (2) that it is not mere agreement κατὰ διάνοιαν or κατ' ὄρεξιν; for, since διάνοια and ὄρεξις may go counter to one another, as they do in



the ἀκρατής, A and B may agree κατὰ διάνοιαν and yet disagree κατ' ὄρεξιν, and C and D may agree κατ' ὄρεξιν and yet disagree κατὰ διάνοιαν, and in either of these cases there may be disagreement in action: (3) that it is not mere agreement in respect of προαίρεσις and of ἐπιθυμία; for the ὁμόνοια of which we are thinking is the ὁμόνοια of the good, in contradistinction to that of the bad, who purpose and desire the same things to their mutual injury. To obtain this meaning I propose tentatively the following restoration: οὔτε μόνον κατὰ διάνοιαν ἢ κατὰ ὄρεξιν, ἔστι γὰρ τὰναντία τὸ κινεῖν <κινεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν> ἐπιθυμεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ἀκρατεῖ διαφωνεῖ τοῦτο· οὐδὲ [codd. οὐ δεῖ] κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁμονοεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐπειδὴ [codd. ἐπὶ δὲ] τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ ὁμόνοια, οἱ δὲ [codd. οἷ γε] φαῦλοι ταῦτα [codd. ταῦτα] προαιρούμενοι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες βλάπτουσιν ἀλλήλους. For τὸ κινεῖν, compare  
 Ⓢ ii § 21 = 1248<sup>a</sup> 24 τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον τοῦτ' ἐστί, τίς ἢ τῆς κινήσεως ἀρχὴ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. δῆλον δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ θεός, [καὶ] καὶ ἐκείνῳ. κινεῖ γὰρ πῶς πάντα τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῖον.

ix § 2 = 1241<sup>b</sup> 17 ἐπεὶ δ' ὁμοίως ἔχει ψυχὴ πρὸς σῶμα καὶ τεχνίτης πρὸς ὄργανον καὶ δεσπότης πρὸς δοῦλον, τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἔστι κοινωνία. οὐ γὰρ δύο ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἓν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς [οὐδέν].

So Sussemihl, who comments as follows: "20. οὐδέν secl. γρ. Vict. et Fr., ἴδιον ci. et rec. Bu." I think that the οὐδέν of the MSS should be written οὐ δ' ἓν, in the sense of ἐν δ' οὐ. The clause will then mean: 'one of the correlatives is a unity; the other is not a unity, but a property or possession of the unity.'

ix § 5 = 1241<sup>b</sup> 36 κατ' ἀναλογίαν δὲ ἡ ἀριστοκρατικὴ ἀρίστη καὶ βασιλική.

Bussemaker conjectures that ἀρίστη should be bracketed, and apparently Sussemihl approves the suggestion. I think that, in place of ἀρίστη, we should read ὀριστέα. Compare  
 ii § 51 = 1238<sup>a</sup> 25 ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἀπλῶς ἢ δὴ τῷ τέλει ὀριστέον καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ.

x § 22 = 1243<sup>a</sup> 25 ὅτε δὲ καὶ μεταλαμβάνων καὶ ἀμφιβάλλει. Fritzsche would insert the article ὁ before μεταλαμβάνων and

bracket *καὶ* before *ἀμφιβάλλει*. Bearing in mind the palaeographical equivalence of K and IC, I propose: *ὅτε δὲ καὶ μεταλαμβάνων ἴσα ἀντιβάλλει*. It is true that *ἀμφιβάλλοντα* occurs at 1243<sup>a</sup> 12: but a glance at that passage will show that what is suitable there, would be unsuitable here.

x § 23 = 1243<sup>a</sup> 28 . . . ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ τῶν νομισμάτων ἀποδόσει. καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα περὶ τούτων ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις· ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῖ πῶς τότε ἦν, ὃ δὲ πῶς νῦν, ἀν μὴ διείπωνται.

What we want here is, I think, not *ἀξιοῖ πῶς τότε ἦν* and *πῶς νῦν*, but *ἀξιοῖ τι ὥς τότε ἦν* and *τι ὥς νῦν*: 'the one makes a claim at the old rate, the other makes a claim at the new rate, unless the contract contains an exact provision.'

HENRY JACKSON.

9 July 1899.

ON *NICOMACHEAN ETHICS* III i § 17, 1111<sup>a</sup> 8, AND  
*REPUBLIC* VIII 563 c<sup>1</sup>.

UNDER the head of the *Ἱερεῖαι*, editors of the fragments of Aeschylus have collected the testimonia for an incident of the poet's life. In certain of his plays, we are told, or, at any rate, in one of them, he was thought to have violated the rules of propriety, if not those of religion, by unwarrantable references to the mysteries of Demeter. According to Heracleides Ponticus apud Eustratium, p. 40<sup>a</sup>, the populace would have killed him upon the stage, if he had not taken refuge at the altar of Dionysus. According to Aelian, *v. h.* v xix, he was formally accused of impiety, and would have been stoned, but for the interposition of his brother Ameinias, the hero of Salamis. According to Clement of Alexandria, *stromata* II xiv § 60 = 461 Potter, he was brought before the Areopagus, but on the plea that he had not been initiated, was discharged. (See Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, p. 77.) However the precise facts may have been,—whether his defence was made in the theatre, or before an ordinary court, or on the Areopagus,—it is clear that in defending himself he used some notable phrase, which serves Aristotle, *Nicomachean ethics* III i § 17, 1111<sup>a</sup> 8, as an example of the plea of ignorance of an offence alleged: ὁ δὲ πράττει ἀγνοήσειεν ἂν τις, οἷον λέγοντές φασιν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀπόρρητα ἦν, ὥσπερ Αἰσχύλος τὰ μυστικά: 'a man may not know what he is doing; thus, in speaking, men say that a thing escaped them, or that they did not know that it was a secret, as Aeschylus said about the mysteries.' It would seem then that, in answering an accusation of divulging the mysteries, Aeschylus pleaded, either, that 'what he had said escaped him,' or, that 'he did not know that what he had said was a secret,' or, possibly, that 'what he had said escaped him in ignorance of its secret meaning.' He may perhaps have added, as Clement relates, that he had never been initiated.

<sup>1</sup> This paper was communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society, 25 February 1886.



There is however here no clear evidence as to the precise words which Aeschylus used in urging his plea.

I now turn to another so-called fragment, which in Dindorf's collection of fragments of *ἄδηλα δράματα* is numbered 326, and in Nauck's, 341. It is preserved by Plato *republic* 563 C οὐκοῦν κατ' Αἰσχύλον, ἔφη, ἐροῦμεν ὃ τι νῦν ἦλθ' ἐπὶ στόμα; by Plutarch *amatorius* 763 B ὃ τοίνυν ἐν ἀρχῇ καιρὸν εἶχε ῥηθῆναι μᾶλλον, οὐδὲ νῦν, ἐπεὶ γ' οὖν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ στόμα, κατ' Αἰσχύλον, ἄρρητον ἐάσειν μοι δοκῶ; and by Themistius *Orat.* iv p. 52 B ἐπειδὴ κατ' Αἰσχύλον νῦν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ στόμα ὃ πάσαι ἐχρῆν. Dindorf contents himself with printing these three passages, but seemingly assumes that they preserve a fragment of tragedy: Nauck is less cautious, and extracts the words ὃ τί νυν ἦλθ' ἐπὶ στόμα, writing *νυν* as an enclitic, presumably on metrical grounds.

But is there any proof that the phrase in question belongs to a tragedy? and is it a mere coincidence that the phrase exactly answers to the requirements of the situation indicated in *Nicomachean ethics* III i § 17?

Let it be supposed that Aeschylus himself, having been taxed with the betrayal of the mysteries, replied in plain prose—εἶπον ὃ τι ἦλθεν ἐπὶ στόμα, or εἶπον ὃ τι ἦλθεν ἐπὶ στόμα οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἀπόρρητον ἦν, 'I said the first thing which occurred to me,' or 'I said the first thing which occurred to me, not knowing that there was anything in it which had to do with the mysteries.' The occasion of the phrase, and perhaps something unusual in its turn, might give to it a certain currency, which would account at once for the purely proverbial use of the locution in the *republic*, and for the distinctly historical reference to it in the *ethics*.

I have however yet another word to say. In reading the sentence in the *ethics*, I have an uneasy feeling that, wholly apart from any doubts which have been raised about the nominative λέγοντες and about the accusative αὐτούς, the phrase ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτούς is strangely bald. It has occurred to me that my misgiving would be removed, if, substituting *ἄ* for *ἦ*, we were to read—οἷον λέγοντές φασιν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτούς ἃ οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀπόρρητα ἦν.

HENRY JACKSON.

ON THEMISTIUS II εἰς Κωνστάντιον 32 C<sup>1</sup>.

THEMISTIUS' second oration has for its theme ὅτι μάλιστα φιλόσοφος ὁ βασιλεύς. In the course of the argument he reminds us that this proposition is affirmed by Plato, not in isolated passages, but in whole dialogues; in the *republic*, the *laws*, the *Phaedrus*. Then with regard to the dialogue last-named the orator continues—

ἡ γὰρ εὐδαίμων ἐκείνη καὶ μακαρία χορεία, ἣν αὐτὸς μὲν φησι μετὰ τοῦ Διὸς χορεύειν, ἄλλους δὲ μετ' ἄλλων θεῶν, καὶ οἱ τὸν ὀρώμενον γνωματεύοντες εἰ φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ἡγεμονικὸς τὴν φύσιν ἐστί, καὶ ἄλλα δὴ ὅσα μυρία οὐκ ἀμυδρῶς ἐστὶ λέγοντος ὁ λέγω [sc. ὅτι φιλόσοφος ἐστὶν ὁ βασιλεύς], οὐδὲ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς ὀξύτερον ἀκούοντας.

Remarking that ἦν αὐτὸς μὲν κτλ is derived from the *Phaedrus*, Petavius proceeds "Quod sequitur, καὶ οἱ τὸν ὀρώμενον γνωματεύοντες, vereor ut integrum sit. Forte, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀρματεύοντες": and this note is reproduced by Dindorf. Petavius is right in thinking that there is a corruption; but the corruption is of the very slightest, being no more than the substitution of O for E in the word ὀρώμενον. Compare Plato *Phaedrus* 252 E οἱ μὲν δὴ οὖν Διὸς Διόν τινα εἶναι ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν τὸν ὑφ' αὐτῶν ὀρώμενον· σκοποῦσιν οὖν εἰ φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ἡγεμονικὸς τὴν φύσιν, καὶ ὅταν αὐτὸν εὐρόντες ἐρασθῶσιν, πᾶν ποιοῦσιν ὅπως τοιοῦτος ἔσται. Whence restore οἱ τὸν ὀρώμενον γνωματεύοντες. With this change, and the addition of a comma after ὅσα μυρία, the sentence gives an excellent sense.

HENRY JACKSON.

<sup>1</sup> This note was communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society, 23 February 1893. See *Proceedings*, p. 9.



## EMENDATIONS IN THE FIFTH BOOK OF MANILIUS.

8—11 me properare *viam* mundus iubet omnia circum |  
sidera uectatum toto decurrere caelo, | cum semel aetherios  
*iussus* conscendere currus | summum contigerim sua per fastigia  
culmen] *etiam...aussus*.

34—37 should be written and punctuated thus: Colchidis  
<*in*> magicas artes qui uertere Iolcon | Medeam iussit mouit-  
que uenena per orbem, | nunc quoque, *uicina puppi* ceu nauiget,  
Argo | a dextri lateris ducit regione per astra. *et...uicinam*  
*puppin* MSS.

43—47 totumque uolet transnare profundum | classibus,  
atque alios menses *aliumque* uidere | Phasin, et in cautes  
Tiphyn superare *trementem*. | tolle *istos* ortus hominum sub  
sidere tali, | sustuleris bellum Troiae] *altumque...ruentem* (or  
*tenentem*)...*sitos*.

85—87 should be written thus: nec non alterno desultor  
sidere dorso | quadrupedum et stabilis poterit defigere plantas, |  
*pesque*, *uolubile* (or *uolatile*) *onus*, ludet per terga uolantum.  
*perquo labite quos* (al. *per quos labit equos*) MSS. IV 204 should  
be written: *pes noua maturi pulsat cum munera Bacchi*. *per...*  
*pus amu* (al. *post annum*) MSS.

105—107 should be written thus: ne crede seueræ | frontis  
opus *fin*gi, strictos *aut* corda Catones | abruptumque *p*ari Tor-  
quatum et Horatia facta. *signi...que in* (al. *in*)...*patri* MSS.

110, 111 in lusus *agiles* agilemque uigorem | desudant]  
*faciles*.

112—114 in uulnus numquam uirtus sed saepe libido |  
impellit, turpisque emitur uel morte uoluptas, | et minimum  
cecidisse malum est, quia crimine *uictum*] *uincunt*.



183—185 should be written and punctuated thus: quaque erat Actaeon *sublimis laude*, *set* ante | quam canibus noua praeda fuit, ducuntur et ipsi, | retibus et claudunt campos, formidine montis. *siluis imitandus* (al. *mutandus*) et MSS.

194—196 should be written and punctuated thus: ac per nulla sequi dubias uestigia praedas, | luxuriae quia terra parum, *fastidit et orbem* | uenter, et ipse gulam Nereus ex aequore pascit. *fastidiet* MSS.

207 *exoriturque canis latratque canicula flammam] lat<rans spi>ratque.*

219 should be written, with MS authority for every word: nascentem quam nec pelagi restinxerit unda.

231, 232 should be written and punctuated thus: *neu* talis mirere artis sub sidere tali | cernis ut ipsum etiam sidus uenetur in astris? *nec* MSS.

241, 242 should be written thus: teque tibi credet semperque, *ut* matre resectum, | *abiunget thalamis*, segetemque interseret uis. *qui...adiungit calamis* (al. *thalamis*) MSS.

244, 245 *nec parce uina recepta | hauriet, e miseris et fructibus ipse fruetur] emeritis.*

265—268 should be written thus: Arabum *Suriis* mulcebit odores | et medios unguenta dabit referentia flatus, | ut sit adulterio suorum gratia maior. | munditiae <*cordi*> cultusque artesque decorae. *siluis* (and *decori* for *decorae*) MSS.

277 and 278 are spurious as well as 279.

301, 302 *Hectoris ille faces arcu telisque fugauit | mittebatque suos ignes et mille carinis] ciues e.*

355—357 *hoc est artis opus, non exspectare gementis | set non auditos mutorum tollere morbos | et sibi non aegros iam dudum credere corpus] poscere credi.*

395, 396 *cum se patrio producet in aequore Piscis | in caelumque ferens alienis finibus ibit] producons.*

Before 400 should be inserted the verses which Jacob numbers 531 and 532, thus: et perlucens cupiens prensare lapillos | uerticibus mediis oculos immittet auaros, | cumque suis domibus concha ualloque latentis | protrahet immersus.

419 *ambiguus terrae partus pelagoque creatur] pelagique.*  
 u 231 *ambiguus terrae Capricornus, Aquarius undis] tergo.*

451, 452 should be written thus: facit ora seueræ | frontis  
<is> ac uultus componit pondere mentis.

455 should be placed after 458, thus: quodque agit, id  
credat, stupefactus imagine iuris, | tutorisue supercilium pa-  
truiue rigorem.

461 should be placed after 465 (thus: nec minus hac  
scelerum facie rerumque tumultu | quaerent Medæe natos),  
and 462 should be written thus: gaudebunt Atræi *rixam* me-  
morare *sepultam*. *luxum...sepulchra* (al. *sepulchri*) MSS.

478—481 should be written thus: et, si tanta operum uires  
commenta negarint, | externis tamen aptus erit, nunc uoce  
*poeta* | nunc tacito gestu, referetque affectibus *ornans* | et sua  
dicendo faciet. *poetis...ora* MSS.

529 (530 Jacob) should be placed before 528, and 527—530  
should be written thus: ille etiam fuluas auidus numerabit  
harenas | paruaque ramentis faciet momenta minutis, | perfun-  
detque *noua* stillantia litora ponto | *proluuie, leget et census*  
spumantis in aurum. *nouo...protulit ut legeret* MSS, *ille leget*  
Huet.

564, 565 extulit et liquido Nereis ab aequore uultum | et  
casus miserata *tuos* rorauit et *undas*] *tibi os...ulnas*.

595 should be placed after 601 (thus: ceti subeuntis uerb-  
erat ora | Gorgoneo tinctum defigens sanguine ferrum), and  
593—596 should be written thus: quassis *hunc subleuat* alis |  
*pes suus* et caelo pendens iaculatur in hostem : | illa subit contra.  
*hic subuolat...Perseus* MSS.

615, 616 soluitque haerentem uinculis de rupe puellam |  
desponsam *pugna* nupturam dote mariti] *magna*.

630, 631 should be written and punctuated thus: uinctorum  
dominus, sociusque in parte catenæ | interdum, poenis *ut noxia*  
corpora *seruet*. *innocia...seruat* (al. *noxia...seruet*) MSS.

641, 642 should be written thus: *nam quis* (or *num quis*)  
ab extremo citius reuolauerit orbe | nuntius extremumue leuis  
penetraverit orbem ? *quamuis* (al. *quavis*) MSS.

655, 656 et caeli meditatus iter uestigia perdet, | *et peneua*  
*et* pendens populum suspendet ab ipso] *aethere uel* (= *etnepeuaet*).

659—661 should be written and punctuated thus: hoc  
trahit in pelagi caedis et uulnera natos | squamigeri gregis,

extentis laqueare profundum | retibus et pontum uinclis artare  
*furentes. furentem* MSS.

686—688 should be written thus: adpelluntque suo deduc-  
tum ex aequore fluctum | claudendoque negant <abi>tum: dein  
(or *reditum: tum*) succidit unda, | area et epoto per solem umore  
nitescit. tum demum suscipit undas aepa (al. *aepia*) et ponto  
MSS, area edd. uett., poto Barth, ac ripa epoto Rossberg.

689, 690 congeritur siccum pelagus mensisque profundi |  
canities sed nota maris] *detonsa*.

708—710 ille tigrim rabie soluet pacique domabit, | quae-  
que alia infestant siluis animalia terras | iunget amicitia secum]  
*furis*.

725 signaque transgressus mutat per tempora Phoebus]  
*permutat*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.



EMENDATIONES HOMERICAÆ (OD. XIII—XVI).

ν 28

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς

πολλὰ πρὸς ἥλιον κεφαλὴν τρέπε παμφανόωντα  
δῦναι ἐπειγόμενος· δὴ γὰρ μενέαινε νέεσθαι.

Though it is hardly matter for wonder that Nauck should have suggested ἐπευχόμενος, and Wansink ἐελδόμενος, instead of ἐπειγόμενος in l. 30, still it is by no means easy to acquiesce in either change. They are a little too remote from the tradition. At the same time the objections to δῦναι ἐπειγόμενος are stronger than might at first sight be supposed. Let us compare the other examples of ἐπείγασθαι followed by an infinitive:—

B 354 τῷ μή τις πρὶν ἐπείγασθω οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι.

ε 399 νῆχε δ' ἐπειγόμενος ποσσὶν ἠπείρου ἐπιβῆναι.

Obviously these give no countenance to the recognised rendering 'eager that the sun should set', 'impatient for the setting', but support only the more simple and natural, though here impossible, version 'hastening to set'. The change of subject exhibited by the infinitive goes rather beyond the usual Homeric license, because the infinitive is here attached not to the whole clause, but to the participle only. See the instances given in Monro's Homeric Grammar § 231: of these A 340 ἐγγὺς ἔσαν προφυγῆν, 'they were near for him to escape', seems to come nearest in point of harshness to the present instance. It is not really quite so violent, for the expression is preceded by οὐ γάρ οἱ ἵπποι (i.e. οὐ δέ οἱ) and the pronoun may logically be regarded as the subject.

Moreover a further criticism may be made upon this phrase δῦναι ἐπειγόμενος. The sense here necessarily assumed is not

only admittedly harsh as we have seen, but in reality and for another reason, inadmissible. ἐπειγόμενος with an infinitive, as the examples quoted indicate, is not fairly represented by 'eager' and 'impatient'. In this collocation the word connotes not these feelings alone, but the vigorous action which is prompted by them. It might be rendered 'exerting himself' or in common parlance 'putting his shoulder to the wheel'. It is evident that Odysseus could not by any personal exertion accelerate the chariot of the sun.

Under these circumstances then some slight change may at any rate be considered. I would alter one letter only and read:—

δύναι ἐπειγόμενον

'hastening to his setting'. It may be objected that this is too easy a correction. Why has it not been made before, and why was the vulgate ever preferred? The two questions are practically identical and a satisfactory answer will go far to prove the emendation. In the first place then probably because readers and editors have somehow persuaded themselves that there is a contrast intended between the epithet παμφανόωντα, 'all-radiant', and the verb δύναι, as if Odysseus began casting impatient glances at the sun, as soon as, or even before, it had attained its meridian height. Hence comes apparently Nauck's unfortunate δὴν for δῆ in the next clause. Such a persuasion is however quite gratuitous. It exaggerates the excusable impatience of Odysseus and moreover betrays a somewhat inaccurate observation of natural fact. Are we to suppose forsooth, that the sun's light would not be παμφανόων after midday? Let all possible emphasis be given to the παμ-, yet I venture to say that the very reverse is a good deal nearer the truth; for the fiercer vertical rays of midday are rather less dazzling to the eye than the horizontal, though really weaker, ones of afternoon.

The second and chief cause of the corruption however must have been the somewhat short-sighted notion that δὴ γὰρ μιν ἐάεινε νέεσθαι is bound to refer solely to the two words that begin the line, instead of to the whole preceding statement.



If this arbitrary limitation be admitted, then undoubted *ἐπειγόμενον* must be changed to *ἐπειγόμενος* in spite of any resultant harshness of construction for *δύναι*. But what need is there for the limitation? In very truth, none whatever. 'For now he was anxious to return home' is the reason for the oft-repeated turning of his head to see the progress of the declining sun. The true reading:—

*δύναι ἐπειγόμενον*

tells us that the sun was declining, and that the hero with ordinary sound sense did not begin casting these anxious glances until the sun (then in very truth *παμφανώνων*) was unmistakably sloping quickly to the west.

\*

ν 107 ἐν δ' ἴστοι λίθιοι περιμήκεες, ἔνθα τε νύμφαι  
φάρε' ὑφαίνουσιν ἀλιπόρφυρα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι  
ἐν δ' ὕδατ' ἀενάοντα.

*ἀενάοντα* is the reading of the majority of the MSS. A minority have the obviously impossible *ἀεννάοντα*, and a still smaller minority *αἰενάοντα*. The word is supposed to mean 'ever-flowing' and to be a compound of *αἰέ* or *αἰέν* and *νάοντα*. Bekker and Nauck would read *αἰὲ νάοντα*, but without the slightest Homeric authority for the form *αἰέ*. About the Boeotian *ἦί* or the Lesbian *ἄι* the less said the better. To introduce any such forms into Homer would simply be to repeat what has been shown to be the common error of the later Greeks themselves in dealing with the text.

But if neither *αἰενάοντα* nor *ἀενάοντα* can possibly be correct, from what can these peculiar developments, these voces nihili, have originated? I suggest from a primitive:—

*ἀννάοντα* (i.e. *ἀνα-νάοντα*)

'up-springing', 'bubbling-up'. It is some assistance and some satisfaction to find that *ἀννάοντα* is actually the reading of Flor. Laur. XXXII, 4, a highly respectable authority. A motive for corrupting *ἀννάοντα* into either of the forms mentioned may be found in the desire to present *νάοντα*, as ordinarily, with a



*short* rather than a *long* antepenultimate. Still epic usage would fully justify the license, if license it be, cf. ἡγάασθε beside ἀγάασθε; and in the limits of νάω itself, though we have ζ 292 κρήνη νάει, Φ 197 φρείατα μακρὰ νάουσιν with short *a*, yet there is also:—

ι 222 χωρὶς δ' αὖθ' ἔρσαι· νᾶον δ' ὀρῶ ἀγγεα πάντα.

The Aristarchean *ναῖον* is perhaps needlessly read by most editors in that passage. Its acceptance is however quite immaterial to the argument. Those who prefer the diphthong may introduce it here also, ἀνναίοντα: but it certainly seems desirable to keep *ναίω*, *habito*, without any superfluous liability to be confused with *νάω*, *fluo*.

Again to the minds of the later Greeks ἀενάοντα would recommend itself because of their familiarity with ἀέναιος which may be found in many of their authors from Hesiod downwards, but not, be it observed, in Homer.

I do not pretend to apply the remedy here advocated to the Hesiodic instance of our participle:—

Hes. Op. 552 ὃς τε ἀρυσσάμενος ποταμῶν ἀπὸ ἀεναόντων.

Possibly the true epithet there is δινηέντων. But the passage, in which this line stands, is not only a mass of meaningless corruption in the tradition, but no attempted reconstruction has so far produced even a tolerable result. It would suffice to suppose that the participle was borrowed from our line after the encroachment of the traditional impossibility.

In l. 108 the original can hardly have run, as we now have it:—

φάρε' ὑφαίνουσιν ἀλιπόρφυρα.

The third foot is defective. As to the idea, fostered by a few easily remediable instances, that ἄλς retained in Homer its primal sibilant, surely it is untenable in face of such combinations as παρὰ θῖν' ἄλός, ἐφ' ἄλός, λειμῶνες ἄλός &c., particularly so, I should think, in a compound like this, a form moreover that actually has an elision before it in the only other passages where it appears, ζ 53 and 306 ἡλάκατα στρωφῶσ' ἀλιπόρφυρα.

I would suggest that we have here a modernisation of some-

thing like *φάρεα λέφθ' ὑφάουσ'* (*ὑφώωσ'*), cf. η 105 *αἱ δ' ἰστοὺς ὑφώουσι*. Doubtless the vulgate defies convincing emendation, but that cannot, and ought not to, protect it from due animadversion.

\*

ν 163

*καὶ ἐρρίζωσεν ἔνερθεν  
χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ ἐλάσας·*

For the dative singular here I would substitute the plural, which seems to have been lost, despite the resultant injury to the metre, mainly because there was no apparent necessity for the god to use both hands. The restoration will stand thus:—

*χερσὶ καταπρήνεσσ' ἐλάσας.*

But the expression may, I think, repay a little further examination. The plural, we may see, is preserved in this phrase a few lines further on:—

ν 198

*ὃ πεπλήγετο μηρῷ  
χερσὶ καταπρήνεσσ'.*

As also in O 114, 398, where the whole clause is repeated. In these three places however the plural was not in serious danger, for it is well-nigh a physical impossibility to perform the action described with one hand only. *Experto sibi quisque credet*.

We have one more instance of the plural:—

τ 467 *τὴν γρη῏ς χεῖρεσσι καταπρηνέσσι λαβοῦσα,*

where the metre is just as efficient a protection.

It now remains to look at the other passages, in which the singular appears. I find two only:—

Π 791

*στῇ δ' ὀπιθεν, πλήξεν δὲ μετάφρενον εὐρέε τ' ὦμω  
χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ, στρεφεδίνηθεν δὲ οἱ ὄσσε.*

Hym. Apoll. 333

*χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ δ' ἔλασε χθόνα καὶ φάτο μῦθον.*

In the latter passage δ' occupies an impossible position, and the plural *χερσὶ καταπρήνεσσ'* with asyndeton is clearly preferable. We may compare:—

I 568 *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοία.*



The case of Π 792 is still more interesting. There it is noteworthy that our phrase is immediately followed by a formidable formation *στρεφεδίνηθεν*, the first and last appearance, as may be imagined, of that remarkable verb. On this unique monstrosity I base the restoration of the plural in this passage also:—

χερσὶ καταπρήνεσσιν, ἐδίνηθεν δέ οἱ ὄσσε,

and his eyes rolled wildly'. It is as if Patroclus had been smitten with sudden epilepsy, one well-known feature of which is the twitching and rolling of the eyes. The concocter of *στρεφεδίνηθεν* doubtless thought to intensify the agony, and has perhaps not been altogether unsuccessful, if we are to regard, not the hero's, but the hearer's feelings.

There is not the slightest difficulty in the use of the plural in any of these passages, though we can easily imagine the would-be improvers of Homer suggesting with profound but mistaken piety, that in the case of Apollo (Π 792) and of Poseidon (ν 164) the power of the god would be much more marked, if the effect were produced by the stroke of one hand only. That consideration in itself would be enough: but if any additional motive for the displacement of the plural be desired, it may be found, so far as two out of our three passages are concerned, in the later disinclination to elide the *ι* of the dat. except under absolute compulsion. See remarks on ε 335 (Journ. Phil. xxvi p. 146 ff.).

\*

ν 213 Ζεὺς σφέας τίσαιοτο ἰκετήσιος, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους—

Such is the accepted presentation of this line, certainly not a favourable specimen of the Homeric metre. The objectionable feature is the third foot, presumably, but by courtesy only and not by right, a dactyl.

As far as the evidence of MSS. is concerned, for *σφέας*, which no one adopts, there is absolute unanimity: for *τίσαιοτο* there are PH post correcturam M Schol: 1 man.: for *τίσαιθ'* FDUL post correcturam H<sup>2</sup> Et. Flor. Lastly *τίσαιοτο* is attributed to Aristarchus, *τισάσθω* or *τίσασθαι* to Zenodotus.



The corrections hitherto suggested are *Zeús σφεΐας τίσαι* Barnes, Bekker<sup>2</sup>: *Zeús δέ σφεας τίσαιθ'* Cobet, *v. Misc. Cr.* p. 331 ff., where the optative, as opposed to the imperative is conclusively shown to be essential here. Cobet's emendation is in my opinion undoubtedly the better of the two but the assumed correspondence of *δέ* rather than *ἀλλά* to the Latin *At* in imprecations (*At te dii deaque perduint* &c. &c.) seems questionable.

I venture to propose as a more likely original:—

*Zeús σφεας ἐκτίσαιθ'.*

The earliest writing would be *ad plenum Zeús σφεας ἐκτίσαιτο*, of which one syllable must of course disappear. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that the almost otiose preposition has been eliminated, than that a particle *δέ* has been removed from before *σφεας* and left no trace in our tradition? For the omission of a prep. cf. note on λ 584 *ad fin.*, where the hiatus in B 590, π 22, N 356, ν 112 has been dealt with on the principle here applied. *Σφεας* is of course frequently used without synizesis, e.g. π 475 *καὶ σφεας ὠίσθην τοὺς ἔμμεναι*.

Before quitting the passage I should like to suggest a better emendation of

215 *ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τὰ χρήματ' ἀριθμήσω καὶ ἴδωμαι*

than Fick's wild reconstruction *ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἀριθμήσω τὰ χρήματα ἢδὲ ἴδωμαι*. I would read:—

*ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τάδε χρήματ' ἀριθμήσω τε ἴδω τε.*

*χρ* does not necessarily lengthen a preceding short vowel, though it may do so, and for the end of the verse as restored surely no defence is needed.

\*

ν 242 *ἦ τοι μὲν τρηχεῖα καὶ οὐχ ἱππήλατός ἐστιν,  
οὐδὲ λίην λυπρή, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' εὐρεῖα τέτυκται.*

For *οὐδ'* in l. 243 it is only fair to say most of the MSS. have *οὐκ*. Two MSS. and Aristarchus are responsible for *οὐδ'*,

which indeed neither Aristarchus nor any one else would have introduced here out of his own head. No editor prints the easier οὐκ, and so the vulgate alone need be considered here. I believe the error of the tradition is in the preceding word ἀτάρ, and will state at once what I hold to be the true reading of the line:—

οὐδὲ λίην λυπρὴ τόσον, οὐδ' εὐρεία τέτυκται.

Now the necessity for the rejection of the vulgate does not depend upon the question of the validity of *hiatus licitus*. It is not my present intention to select deliberately *θυμοβόρου ἔριδος μένει* as examples of erroneous readings in our accepted text instances of mere hiatus licitus, yet I find it neither possible nor desirable out of deference to a mistaken and misleading theory which happens to be in vogue, to leave untouched such a passage as the one here given. If we disregard the hiatus then altogether, it is still pretty clear that ἀτὰρ οὐδέ is here impossible. There is no conceivable, or at any rate no admissible, rendering of these words other than 'but not even'. Now if any one is satisfied with such a sentence as 'neither is it a very poor island, but it is not even wide', because forsooth the tradition or Aristarchus has it so, he will of course champion the cause of the vulgate. But doubtless there will be others who are a little more exacting.

Another consideration telling against ἀτὰρ οὐδέ is that it only occurs once again in Homer:—

E 485 τύνη δ' ἔστηκας, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλοισι κελεύεις.

Even there although the sense 'but not even' is quite appropriate, yet the line is doubtful, and Homeric usage gives strong warrant (*v. Journ. Phil.* XXIV p. 275 f.) for my proposed correction:—

τύνη δ' ἔστηκας ἐκάς, οὐδ' ἄλλοισι κελεύεις.

As in that case the appeal was made to Homer himself so the restoration here is immediately derived from the poet's own words elsewhere:—

ο 405 οὗ τι περιπληθὴς λίην τόσον, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ μέν,



The expression there though verbally different is very similar in type to our line ( $\nu$  243) and like it occurs in the description of an island, *conf. remarks on Hym. Herm. 199 (Journ. Phil. xxvi p. 254).*

The idiomatic combination  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\nu\nu$  may also be found:—

$\delta$  371  $\nu\eta\pi\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma,\ \omega\ \xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon,\ \lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\nu\nu\ \eta\delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\phi\rho\omega\nu,$

and the use of  $\tau\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\nu\nu$  may be further illustrated by that of  $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$  with adjectives and adverbs,  $\Psi$  246 ( $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\nu$ ),  $\alpha\lambda\lambda'\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\gamma$  321  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\lambda$  135,  $\psi$  282 (θάνατος)  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\lambda\eta\chi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (L.  $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ ),  $\omicron$  451  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\ \delta\eta\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\alpha$  209  $\theta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\delta$  776,  $\eta$  30  $\sigma\iota\gamma\grave{\eta}\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\nu$  302  $\sigma\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ . Compare also the adjoining ( $\nu$  238)  $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\iota\ \lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\nu\ |\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\ \nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ .

It is worth remarking that  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\nu\nu$  where the words are together has escaped interference; but here where they stand separated by the interposed  $\lambda\upsilon\pi\rho\acute{\eta}$ ,  $\tau\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\nu\nu$  has failed to maintain itself. The inference is that proximity of parts is the best safeguard of an entirely obsolete formula, while conversely the integrity of but a slight deviation from a familiar turn of expression is better secured by moderate distance. Compare how  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  has fared in  $\epsilon$  266 (*Journ. Phil. xxvi p. 145*).

\*

$\nu$  378  $\mu\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\delta\nu\alpha\ \delta\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$

The line is also read  $\lambda$  117 and yet the double occurrence cannot induce me to abandon my suspicions as to its authenticity in its present shape.

The contracted form  $\mu\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$  for  $\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$  is doubtless legitimate. The usage of  $\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  gives it sufficient countenance. At the same time there are several passages in which the uncontracted forms ought to be, and frequently are, restored by editors, e.g.  $\xi$  91  $\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\sigma\theta'$ ,  $\phi$  326  $\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\omicron\nu\tau'$ ,  $\pi$  431  $\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\alpha\iota$ . There is no other instance of the participle in Homer, but in *Hym. Apoll.* 209  $\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (e conjectura) is read, and as all the oblique cases of the plural would have to be of this form for admission into the hexameter at all, the tendency



would be rather towards the adoption of the uncontracted form in the nom. case also.

Primarily however suspicion falls upon the adjective *ἀντιθέην*, and for the annexed reason: *ἀντίθεος*, although anything but a rare word, is nowhere else applied to Penelope, nor indeed to any woman either in the Iliad or in the Odyssey. This can hardly be an accident.

Accordingly I hazard the conjecture, not palaeographically a violent one, that the original was in both passages:—

*μυνώμενοί τε τεῖν ἄλοχον καὶ ἔδνα διδόντες·*

The gravamen of the charge against the island-princes really rests upon the pronoun. *ἔδνα διδόντες* implies no offence in itself: it is a transgression, if it be *ἀλόχῳ*: it is an exasperating personal insult as well, if it be *τεῖν ἀλόχῳ*.

\*

ξ 151 ἄλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ αὐτως μυθήσομαι, ἀλλὰ σὺν ὄρκῳ,  
ὥς νέεται Ὀδυσσεύς.

By all means let us replace the unmetrical *ὥς νέεται Ὀδυσσεύς* by the more idiomatic and—except for the omission of *κε*, which might easily be lost—palaeographically identical expression:—

*ὥς κε νέητ' Ὀδυσσεύς.*

Metrical suitability is not by any means the sole or main recommendation of this reading. It reinstates a phrase that would naturally, ay, almost inevitably, fall from the lips of an epic poet in this connection, as indeed may be seen from:—

a 85 ὄφρα τάχιστα

*νύμφη ἐνπλοκάμῳ εἶπη νημερτέα βουλήν,  
νόστον Ὀδυσσεύς ταλασίφρονος, ὥς κε νέηται.*

205 φράσσεται ὥς κε νέηται, ἐπεὶ πολυμήχανός ἐστιν.

From these and similar passages it may fairly be doubted whether the common doctrine, that *κε* with subjunctive states a fact with less positiveness and emphasis than the future indicative, is altogether to be relied upon.

I find in this same book, and it may as well be noticed at once, another instance of hiatus as bad as the above, or even worse:—

41 ἦμαι, ἄλλοισιν δὲ σύας σιάλους ἀτιτάλλω

I would suggest as a probable remedy, certainly a tolerable one:—

ἦμ' ὦδ'

'I sit as I am', or as Aristarchus would have it,—not quite accurately though, except in such expressions as the present one, 'here I sit'.

Not very dissimilar is the case of:—

E 684 Πριαμίδη, μὴ δὴ με ἔλωρ Δαναοῖσιν ἐάσης  
κεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπάμυνον.

I have long been of opinion that we have here a result of the disinclination to recognise frankly an ordinary epic elision, and that the true presentation should be:—

κεῖσθ' ὦδ' ἀλλ' ἐπάμυνον 'to lie here'.

We may compare the contrasted expression Φ 184 κεῖσ' οὕτως, 'Lie thou there'. ὦδε is just as appropriate in the mouth of the wounded Sarpedon as οὕτως is to the victorious Achilles.

\*

ξ 193 εἶη μὲν νῦν νῶϊν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἡμὲν ἐδωδὴ  
ἡδὲ μέθυ γλυκερὸν κλισίης ἔντοσθεν ἐοῦσι,  
δαίνυσθαι ἀκέοντ', ἄλλοι δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔποιεν.

Odysseus here proposes in the form of a wish, that Eumaeus and himself should stay indoors for a time and take food and wine, while the others attend to the work outside. There is a noticeable metrical difficulty in l. 195, the hiatus in δαίνυσθαι ἀκέοντ', and as usual it is accompanied by a commensurate failure in the sense.

The intention of Odysseus is that he and his entertainer should have an opportunity of conversing quietly without being incommoded by the presence of witnesses. Accordingly we find



that the two words just quoted are rendered 'to feast or dine quietly', 'in quiet' (Butcher and Lang), 'ruhig, ungestört' (Ameis-Hentze). Unfortunately, I fear, this is not the true sense of ἀκέοντε. It is merely a loose and inaccurate rendering designed to suit the special case. The real meaning is 'in silence', 'holding our tongues', the very reverse of what Odysseus should have said. Previously indeed (v. ξ 110) he had been content to feast 'in silence' and play the part of a listener: now he intends to be the speaker. Such being the case, ἀκέοντε might conceivably be taken as an instance of his notorious artfulness, κλεπτοσύνη, if only there had been any occasion for its exercise. Artfulness unmotivated is merely downright fatuity masquerading under a more specious title.

But is it quite certain that ἀκέων means 'without speaking'? Well, perhaps we cannot rely strictly on the derivation from *a priv.* and χαίνω 'to open the mouth': for if that were insisted on too rigidly, the hero and his host would get no dinner at all. The usage of Homer however is explicit enough and cannot well be disregarded. Not every passage need be quoted at length. The following will perhaps suffice:

A 34 βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θίνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.

Clearly Chryses refrains from speech until he reaches a safe distance. So A 512 ἀλλ' ἀκέων δὴν ἦστο. No less definite are:—

K 85 φθέγγεο μηδ' ἀκέων ἐπ' ἔμ' ἔρχεο.

Δ 22, Θ 459 ἀκέων ἦν, οὐδέ τι εἶπε.

(Leg. μὲν ἀκὴν Journ. Phil. xxiv p. 274.)

ι 427 τοὺς ἀκέων συνέργον ἐυστρεφέεσσι λύγοισι,

ν 385 ἀλλ' ἀκέων πατέρα προσεδέρκετο.

The other passages in which the word occurs are κ 52, ρ 465, 491, ν 184, φ 89 (?), A 565, 569, λ 142.

One passage remains and is of importance, because the intrusion of ἀκέοντ' in our line ξ 195 is probably due to its influence:—

β 310 Ἀντίνο', οὗ πως ἔστιν ὑπερφιάλοισι μεθ' ὑμῖν

δαίνυσθαι τ' ἀκέοντα καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι ἔκηλον.



The latter line, if I may add another to the proposed restorations, would be more correctly read thus:—

δαίνυσθαί τ' ἀκέοντ' εὐφραίνεσθαί τε ἔκηνον.

But the pressing question is the sense in which ἀκέοντα is to be taken. Of course if it here means no more than ἔκηνον, there would be an end of the matter; but I submit the true meaning is there as elsewhere 'in silence', i.e. 'without protesting aloud against your conduct'. In fact Telemachus proceeds with his protest at once ll. 312—7. The only reasonable conclusion is that ἀκέων τι πράττω means 'I do something without uttering a word', not, 'I do something without hearing a word'. This latter is indeed absolutely refuted by ξ 110 q.v.

But where are we to seek a plausible remedy for the δαίνυσθαι ἀκέοντ' of ξ 195, which now appears to be little better than nonsense? Possibly in the very passage from which the corruption, as I suggest, has been derived, thus:—

δαίνυσθ' εὐκήλους, ἄλλοι δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔποιεν

The incompatibility of ἀκέοντε being admitted, there could hardly be a more appropriate term than εὐκήλους (or εὐκήλους, for the distinction between the dat. and the acc. is probably later than Homer) or one better avouched by usage in this connection. In proof of this I would appeal to:—

E 805 δαίνυσθαί μιν ἀνώγε' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι ἔκηνον

φ 289 οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς, ὃ ἔκηνος ὑπερφιάλοισι μεθ' ἡμῶν  
δαίνυσαι;

μ 301 ἄλλα ἔκηνλοι

ἐσθίετε βρώμην Cf. ξ 167.

ρ 478 ἔσθε ἔκηνλος, ξείνε, καθήμενος.

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ξ 202 ἐμὲ δ' ὠνητὴ τέκε μήτηρ  
παλλακίς, ἀλλὰ με ἴσον ἰθαιγενέεσσιν ἐτίμα  
Κάστωρ Ἰλακίδης.

The reading of the Codex Palat. 45 (Heidelberg) ἴσα must with the exception of the accent be the true reading:—

ἴσ' ἰθαιγενέεσσιν.

That *ιθαγενής* or *ιθαγενής* should have the first syllable short is beyond all probability. Unless indeed one should roundly and hardily declare that *ιθύς, ιθύω, ιθύνω, ιθυπτίων*, all of which in innumerable instances invariably have the *ι* long, must be referred to a different root and so have nothing to do with the case, there is no escape from the conclusion that the vulgate is erroneous.

But error is seldom solitary in the Homeric poems. *κακὸν κακῷ ἐστήρικται*. One instance generally hath a fellow to keep it in countenance. So here we have to deal with the testimony of the supposed respectable friend, who comes forward to bear out the knave's credit. Here he is:—

Π 586 καὶ ῥ' ἔβαλε Σθενέλαον, Ἰθαιμένεος φίλον υἱόν.

Now is this evidence of serious weight? There are divers considerations to be set in the opposite scale. The order of the words, I should suggest, may have been tampered with, the original having stood thus:—

καὶ ῥ' ἔβαλεν, φίλον υἱ' Ἰθαιμένεος, Σθενέλαον.

Cf. E 682—3. Others may prefer to write *Σθενέλεων* on the analogy of *Ἀγέλεως*, χ 131, 247, where however *Ἀγέλαος ἔειπε* is probable, and certainly possible. Some may regard *Σθενέλαον*, which is *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, as the corruption of some now irrecoverable name. Fick is contented with *Σθένελον*. But whichever of these alternatives be favoured, the known quantity of *ιθύς* cannot be disregarded, and on this argument the case for *ισ'* may safely rest.

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ξ 337

τοῖσιν δὲ κακὴ φρεσὶ ἄνδανε βουλή  
ἀμφ' ἐμοί, ὅφρ' ἔτι πάγχυ δύης ἐπὶ πῆμα γεινῶται.

Evidently the words of the final clause have sustained some corruption. The above is the reading of the MSS. and Aristarchus. To Aristophanes is attributed *δύη ἐπὶ πῆμα γένηται*. No doubt this last with the needful amelioration of *γένοιτο* for *γένηται*—there would still be a little difficulty with *πάγχυ*—affords a tolerable sense, which is more than can be said of the



vulgate. Still no one would believe for a moment, in face of the evidence, that the phrase patronised by Aristophanes can be the original from which the peculiar reading of the MSS. has been evolved. It is on the contrary merely the readiest simplification of the unintelligible tradition.

Of course the thick-and-thin adherents of tradition and tradition only may rejoin, "Oh, we can translate it: it means 'in miseram calamitatem inciderem'," and indeed it is fairly obvious that the required sense is practically, as the excellent version of Messrs Butcher and Lang has it, 'that even yet I might reach the extremity of sorrow.' The scholion BH, *λείπει ἡ ἔξ, ἢ ᾗ ἐκ τῆς δύνης ἐπὶ βλάβην ἔλθοιμι*, is deservedly scouted. But where is the warrant for rendering *ἐπιγίγνομαι πῆμα*, *I meet with trouble*? There is certainly none in Homer, and later usage, which would give *πῆμά τι ἐπιγίγνεται*, is no more favourable than epic itself. In fact, unless some one will undertake to maintain that Homer practised an ultra-Virgilian freedom in transposing ordinary expressions for the sake of variety, no defence of the phrase *ἐπιγίγνομαι πῆμα* is possible. If such defence be adventured, the easiest way to deal with the advocate would be to give him, with all Horatian urbanity, the appropriate recommendation 'naviget Anticyram'.

I have dwelt upon the condition of the vulgate because it is full of warning not only for those who cling blindly to tradition, but also for those who at the occurrence of the least difficulty promptly scent an interpolation. In every case, before excision is resorted to, it ought to be tolerably certain that the tradition has not failed in some particular from one or other of the numerous causes which have frequently operated to impair the primitive text. In short the possibility of a corruption has a *prior* claim to consideration, and should never be left out of account when we are inclined to athetise. Nor even, if our attempts to effect a reasonable restoration are inadequate and unsatisfactory, does it necessarily follow that the text, being a mere accretion, the work of an inferior mind, is sound and requires none. The corruption may be, possibly it is here, of such a character that a convincing emendation is unattainable.



Now here van Herwerden has proposed an emendation:—

δύσιν πημαινοίμην

with the variation:—

ὄφρ' ἄρα πάγχυ δύσ' ἔτι πημαινοίμην.

There is however something very unsatisfactory in the way ἐπί is here dealt with, either by (1) absolute removal, or (2) substitution of ἔτι, which then has to be cut out after ὄφρα and replaced by ἄρα.

It has occurred to me, and it seems worth suggesting as a step in the right direction, that δύς ἐπὶ πῆμα may have arisen from:—

δύς ἐπιβήμεναι

'to step into trouble', a somewhat rare, but quite sufficiently attested form of expression in the Homeric poems. We may refer to B 234 κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν, χ 424 ἀναιδέης ἐπέβησαν, ψ 52 ἐνφροσύνης ἐπιβήτητον, Θ 285 ἐνκλείης ἐπίβησον.

The concluding word presents some difficulty. It must evidently be a verb in the first pers. sing. of the middle voice, and the one that would best meet the requirements of the clause is ἀροίμην 'to win for myself', v. Journ. Phil. xxvi p. 134. ἀγοίμην, though more nearly reproducing the ductus litterarum, does not satisfy the sense. There is however a very fair sense in the reconstruction suggested, while the ironical turn not being of universal appreciation might easily lead to the substitution of the vulgate, which has a superficial air of intelligibility.

I propose then:

ὄφρ' ἔτι πάγχυ δύς ἐπιβήμεν' ἀροίμην

'in order that I might still be completely successful in getting into trouble', 'might yet fully succeed in landing in misery'. That the irony is Homeric may be seen from:—

Ξ 130 μή ποῦ τις ἐφ' ἔλκεϊ ἔλκος ἄρηται.

That the infinitive may take the place of a noun in the acc. needs no proof.

As an alternative some might be disposed to take refuge in the possible solution which the usage of *δύη* suggests (v. σ 53, 81) and to read:—

ὄφρ' ἔτι πάγχυ δύη ἀρημένος εἶην,

which at least gives a plain and intelligible sense, though how or why this should have been transformed into the vulgate, is not easy to see.

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ξ 402 ξεῖν', οὕτω γάρ κέν μοι ἐνκλείη τ' ἀρετή τε  
εἶη ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἅμα τ' αὐτίκα καὶ μετέπειτα,  
ὅς σ' ἐπεὶ ἐς κλισίην ἄγαγον καὶ ξείνια δῶκα,  
αὐτίς δὲ κτείναιμι φίλον τ' ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλοίμην  
πρόφρων κεν δὴ ἔπειτα Δία Κρονίωνα λιτοίμην.

The true reading of l. 404 can hardly be that given above *ὅς σ' —κτείναιμι*. For the general use of the relative followed by the pure optative in the Homeric poems v. Monro H. G. § 304—5. It is only the conditional use with which we are now concerned. Of this I will take two ordinary instances by way of illustration:—

δ 222 ὅς τὸ καταβρόξειεν, ἐπεὶ κρητῆρι μιγείη,  
οὗ κεν ἐφημέριός γε βάλοι κατὰ δάκρυ παρειῶν.

Let us pause for a moment to restore the integrity of the former of these three lines thus:—

ὅς τὸ καταβρόξει', ἐπεὶ ἐν κρητῆρι μιγείη.

The later Greeks would not tolerate, if they could help it, the elision of the -ε of the opt. -ειε; but the preposition with *κρητῆρι* is obligatory here. Perhaps the traditional *ἐπὴν* shows a slight trace of its existence.

Ι 125 οὗ κεν ἀλήϊος εἶη ἀνὴρ, ᾧ τόσσα γένοιτο.

It will be seen at once that in these conditional clauses (1) *ὅς = εἴ τις* and *ᾧ = εἴ τινα*. In fact in every instance of a conditional relative, except in the example we are considering, the person is indefinite, and being indefinite, as it must be, the relative



cannot be in any other person than the third. Hence I infer we are bound to read here:—

εἴ σ', ἐπεὶ ἐς κλισίην ἄγαγον καὶ ξείνια δῶκα,  
αὐτὶς δὲ κτείναιμι φίλον τ' ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλοίμην

In the next line Duentzer proposed the change of αὐτὶς to αὐτός; to this there are serious objections. It is the actions that are contrasted, not the persons. Not only so, but αὐτός 'by mine own hand' is exactly what Odysseus had not contemplated in his proposal. He said specifically and definitely 'set the thralls upon me', l. 399 δμῶας ἐπισσεύας. There is also perhaps a further reason for leaving αὐτὶς unmolested. In later Greek we have the well-known idiomatic usage of the participle followed by a finite verb introduced by εἴτα, e.g.

Eur. Andr. 756 μὴ νῦν φυγόντες εἴθ' ἀλώμεν ὕστερον.

Now εἴτα is not Homeric: but here just as ἐπεὶ—δῶκα corresponds to φυγόντες, so αὐτὶς δέ may be regarded, I think, as the equivalent of εἴτα, and if so, is indispensable to the clause.

In line 406 πρόφρων κεν δὴ ἔπειτα Δία Κρονίωνα λιτοίμην, a variant of some interest is given by a few MSS. (XD post correcturam H 2 man.)

Κρονίων' ἀλιτοίμην.

This reading has been adopted by Cauet as well as by van Leeuwen and da Costa, and therefore deserves remark.

There are two objections fatal I think to its acceptance. First it involves for πρόφρων the meaning of 'deliberately' or, as the lawyers have it, 'of malice prepense'. This I say advisedly is far more than can be justified by the usage of πρόφρων, πρόφρασσα and προφρονέως. The literal sense is 'heartily', 'with all one's heart', and 'sincerely', 'honestly', or, if the action involved be of the nature of a favour, 'kindly'. Secondly the pleasant irony which is assumed at the beginning of the speech l. 402 εὐκλείη τ' ἀρετή τε is naturally and properly continued, until the first subject or topic is dropped and a new one introduced by (l. 407) νῦν δ' ὥρη δόρποιο.



ξ 411 τὰς μὲν ἄρα ἔρξαν κατὰ ἡθεα κοιμηθῆναι,  
κλαγγὴ δ' ἄσπετος ὦρτο συνὼν αὐλιζομενάων.

That ἔρξαν should be able unassisted to make *position* for the last syllable of ἄρα is a doctrine resting on a very slender basis, and might very well be abandoned, if any other more acceptable account of the quantity here given to the first syllable of the second foot were forthcoming.

To this end let us begin by considering the form ἔρξαν. Is it Homeric? It seems to me very doubtful, and for this reason: the form ἔργω is not epic but late, the only genuine Homeric form of the present being ἐέργω. This conclusion some may be inclined to contest; but it appears to result inevitably from the facts.

The evidence for ἐέργω is as follows: ἐέργει 3 sing. pres. occurs B 617, 845, I 404, N 706, X 121, Ω 544: ἐέργουσι λ 503: ἐέργων M 201, 219: ἐεργόμενοι N 525: ἐέργη Δ 131. All these forms except the last, where no MS. presents, and no editor has gone out of his way to suggest, ἔργη, are absolutely protected by the metre.

The case for ἔργω (εἶργω) rests on the present passage and two others:—

Ψ 72 τῆλέ με εἶργουσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων,  
where Bentley and others are certainly right in reading τῆλ  
μ' ἐέργουσι.

P 571 ἥ τε καὶ ἐργομένη μάλα περ χροὸς ἀνδρομέοιο.

Again Bentley's ἥ καὶ ἐεργομένη is not to be resisted, v. Jour-  
Phil. xxv p. 44.

The imperfect is always ἔεργον; but no certain inference can be drawn therefrom either way. Neither do I think that the perf. and pluperf. pass. ἔρχαται, ἔρχατο &c. can be usefully appealed to on this question. ἐρχθέντ' Φ 282 has many variants and should in all probability be connected with ἀποέρση in the line following; but this question cannot now be entered upon at length. Admitting the difficulty of ἐρχθέντ' still we can only put one interpretation on the above facts; Homer knew ἐέργω only, not ἔργω.

Of ἔργαθεν in Λ 437 a word may be said: the line runs:—

πάντα δ' ἀπὸ πλευρῶν χροῖα ἔργαθεν, οὐδε τ' ἔασε.

It is next door to a certainty that the correct reading is χρὸ' ἔεργαθεν, as indeed appears in the verse which gives the other instance of this word:—

Ε 147 πλῆξ', ἀπὸ δ' αὐχένος ὄμον ἔεργαθεν ἥδ' ἀπὸ νότου.

The MSS. rightly present συνεέργαθον in Ξ 36. They could indeed hardly do otherwise; but we find ἀποεέργαθε (-ν) Φ 599, φ 221 instead of what is now evident is the only correct form ἀπεεέργαθε (-ν).

Such is the case against the genuine character of ἔρξαν. If my conclusion be valid, as I cannot doubt it is, the aorist unaugmented would be ἔερξαν and with an augment we should have probably ἥερξαν, though there is only the imperfect analogy of ἥισκε δ 247 and ἥίσκομεν Φ 332: but as to the possibility of there being an augmented form with the first syllable long whether εἰ- or ῆ-, it is I should imagine in view of the facts stated no longer open to dispute. Accordingly I submit as the true reading of our line:—

τὰς μὲν ἄρ' ἥερξαν κατὰ ἥθεα κοιμηθῆναι,

It is even possible that τὰς μὲν ἀνήερξαν was the original: but proof of this is now unattainable. In any case the argument against ἔρξαν remains the same, and the opinion that ἔρξ' in κ 435 is from ἔρδω (v. Journ. Phil. xxvii p. 10) is entirely confirmed.

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- ο 117 ἔργον δ' Ἡφαίστοιο πόρεν δέ εἰ Φαίδιμος ἦρως  
Σιδονίων βασιλεύς, ὅθ' ἐὸς δόμος ἀμφεκάλυψε  
κεῖσ' ἐμὲ νοστήσαντα· τείν δ' ἐθέλω τόδ' ὀπάσσαι.

These lines occur in a passage which is repeated verbatim from δ 613—9, so that, whether they be accepted or rejected here, there is no question as to their genuine Homeric character.

In l. 119, as also in δ 619, κεῖσ' ἐμέ is doubtless right,



though all the MSS. have *κεῖσέ με*, not because we have the authority of Herodianus for *ἐμέ*, but because this deferential position is not legitimate for the enclitic pronoun.

I have a suggestion to offer with regard to *τεῖν*. The form is supposed to be Doric, but can hardly be accepted as Homeric, though it is found in the following passages in addition to those mentioned above:—

Α 201 Ζεὺς με πατὴρ προέηκε *τεῖν* τάδε μυθήσασθαι.

δ 829 ἦ νῦν με προέηκε *τεῖν* τάδε μυθήσασθαι.

λ 559 ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς Δαναῶν στρατὸν αἰχμητῶν  
ἐκπάγλως ἤχθηρε, *τεῖν* δ' ἐπὶ μοῖραν ἔθηκεν.

The passage from the Iliad debars any easy assumption that this is only a slightly more recent form, restricted to the Odyssey and indicative of the later date of that poem. Not that I mean to imply that *τεῖν* is not a recent form as judged by the standard of Epic. On the contrary, I believe it is in all these instances an intruder, substituted for an archaic and obsolete form by the later Greeks, who naturally preferred to see a word from a living dialect, even if the dialect was not specially a literary one, rather than one that had entirely passed away from the lips and minds of every section of their race.

My suggestion is that *τεῖν* is really representative of an original *τεοί*, a parallel form to *ἐμοί*, *σοί* and *ἐοί*. The only support I can allege is the very strong probability that the corresponding archaic genitive of this pronoun is still extant, or at any rate not quite extinct, in the slightly depraved reading of Θ 37 and 468:—

ὥς μὴ πάντες ὄλωνται ὀδυσσαμένοιο *τεοῖο*.

where *τεεῖο* (cf. *ἐμεῖο*, *σεῖο*, *εῖο*) is restored by Heyne, Bekker, Nauck, Rohde, Platt. The defence of *τεοῖο* as a possessive used like the later *τὸ σόν* = *σύ* is surely an error of judgment on the part of Brugmann. While the plausibility of *τεεῖο* is increased in some degree even by the mere suspicion that a fraternal and complimentary *τεοί* may once have held a position in the great Achæan epics, the objection to *τεοῖο*, which led Zenodotus to omit the line from his text, is patent, and



though *τείν* is not in itself similarly incorrect, yet no injustice would, I think, be done to either form by regarding them both as caretakers, pressed into service, who only took possession of their present quarters after the previous tenants were dead and forgotten. To this extent they have been useful in an emergency, and so far, but no further, they are to be justified.

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ο 218 ἐγκοσμεῖτε τὰ τεύχε', ἐταῖροι, νηὶ μελαίνῃ.

A very slight change here will restore the long-banished original, none the worse for being a little archaic, and remove the Attic use of the article:—

ἐγκοσμεῖετε τεύχε'.

Could it be reasonably expected of the later Greeks that they should refrain from introducing the form *ἐγκοσμεῖτε*, especially when the gap made by so doing could be so easily filled up by the familiar article? They secured two advantages by merely sacrificing an obsolete and therefore unpleasing form. Right gladly, we may imagine, would they proceed to fling away the ugly piece of primordial trachyte and secure the two fine, serviceable birds. Who would blame them?

That *ἐγκοσμεῖετε* is quite admissible and Homeric may be safely inferred from the list of similar formations on p. 20, *πενθείω*, *νείκείω* &c. It is observable that the diphthong *-ει* cannot be attributed to ictus-lengthening as it occurs with tolerable frequency in thesis also. It may be merely metrical, or may be explicable in one of the ways stated by Mr Monro H. G.<sup>2</sup> App. C, p. 386: but the fact of its existence is for present purposes the material point.

By the aid of this peculiarity or principle, whichever it be rightly named, of epic speech, further confirmed and ensured by this demonstration of its usefulness, we may recover the true reading in the hitherto puzzling:—

Z 46, Λ 131 ζώγρει, Ἀτρείος νιέ, σὺ δ' ἄξια δέξαι ἄποινα.

Here δέξε' ἄποινα Fut. Indic. (Nauck, van Leeuwen and da

Costa, Platt) is undoubtedly right; but something more is required for the full restoration of the original. L and C's ζώγρειε is not enough; it might even be questioned whether it makes any improvement at all: and their suggestion for Z 46 of ζώγρεέ μ' is sufficiently disproved by the consideration that it is inapplicable to A 131.

There could be little objection to reading in both places:—

ζώγρει', Ἀτρείος νιέ, σὺ δ' ἄξια δέξε' ἄποινα.

i.e. ζώγρειε from the alternative long form ζωγρείω. Thus the requirements of either passage will be satisfied, and an unexceptional verse recovered in place of an erroneous, though but slightly perverted, tradition.

In ι 210 the form χεῖ' (ἔχειε), which I proposed on grounds of analogy (Journ. Phil. xxvi p. 276), may be supported by the received text of Hesiod:

Theog. 83 τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσση γλυκερὴν χείουσιν ἑέρσην.

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ο 245 ὃν περὶ κῆρι φίλει Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων  
παντοίην φιλότητ' οὐδ' ἔκετο γήραος οὐδόν,—

In the Platonic or Pseudo-Platonic dialogue, Axiochus 368 A, this passage is quoted with one variation from our vulgate given above;—

παντοίῃ φιλότητ'.

This I am decidedly of opinion is the genuine reading, not because the acc. of the internal object, as it is called, is in any wise incorrect here. It is grammatical enough: but its very admissibility tends to discredit it. The Greeks of the classical or post-classical period would never have attempted to change such an unobjectionable acc. into a dative involving the to-them-scarcely-endurable elision of the iota. Such a change could never hope to win the least degree of popular approval. The reverse process however would doubtless have been hailed with acclamation.

For these two reasons (1) Plato's quotation, (2) the later views on elision, the dat. here possesses claims which cannot



be lightly set aside; and they are reinforced, if not entirely confirmed, by the following passage, in which, though the construction is precisely similar, no elision has endangered the preservation of the dat.:—

Hym. Herm. 574

οὕτω Μαιάδος νῆα ἄναξ ἐφίλησεν Ἀπόλλων  
παντοίῃ φιλότῃτι, χάριν δ' ἐπέθηκε Κρονίων.

The MSS. have νίον, for which I have substituted the necessary νῆα. In this point even the most meticulous of editors might venture to disregard the false testimony of tradition.

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ο 299 ἔνθεν δ' αὖ νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῆσιν  
ὀρμαίνων ἥ κεν θάνατον φύγοι ἥ κεν ἁλώῃ.

Much ingenuity has been vainly expended in explaining *θοῆσιν*. 'Sharp' or 'pointed', 'ὀξεῖαι', cf. *ἐθόωσα* (ι 327), satisfied the ancients. Ameis-Hentze most unaccountably think the epithet is elucidated by Tac. Ann. III. 1:—oppidum Brundisium, quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimumque adpulsu erat, as if celerrimus or *θοός*, alone and unqualified, could convey the meaning of celerrimus adpulsu (naviganti). The idea is surely one that needs no serious refutation. Nor yet again is it satisfactory, it is merely a venture in the dark, to write *θοῆσιν* as a proper name, 'the Pointed islands' (Butcher and Lang). But these so-called explanations may be dismissed without more words. *θοῆσιν* itself is faulty, nor is the origin of the unfortunate epithet by any means an insoluble mystery after all. There can be little doubt that it is really due to an inopportune reminiscence of:—

P 708 κείνον μὲν δὴ νηυσὶν ἐπιπροέηκα θοῆσιν.

For this the verb, *ἐπιπροέηκε*, is clearly responsible, and so far we seem to stand on safe ground; but what guidance can be found, if we proceed further and attempt to restore the word displaced by *θοῆσιν*? The missing word can hardly be, as might hastily be supposed, another adjective, or even an



exegetical infinitive, such as may be seen following this very verb P 708 ἐλθεῖν, I 520 λίσσεσθαι. Nothing of the kind would have been in danger of being lost without leaving some trace. Therefore all such conjectures as πέτεσθαι, φέρεσθαι, ἐλαύνειν or θέουσιν (sc. νῆα), ἰούσαν &c. may be set aside as improbable.

To meet the conditions of the problem it seems essential that the suggested word should be one, which, while Homericly adequate in construction and sense, would in later times at once strike readers and critics as unfamiliar and difficult, if not unintelligible. Such a word I find in the adverb ὑπερθεν, by the aid of which I would restore the line thus:—

ἔνθεν δ' αὖ νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκεν ὑπερθεν,

'And thence (from the coast of Elis) he made speed onward to the islands *in the main*'.

We have here the technical sense of ὑπερθεν, which is conspicuously epic, 'towards the open sea', or as we sometimes call it 'the high sea', that is simply 'seaward'. We have also the use, even more peculiarly epic, of the adverb as attributive to the noun; for νήσοισι ὑπερθεν is parallel with such expressions as (M 153) λαοῖσιν καθύπερθεν, v. Journ. Phil. xxiv p. 280. The later Greeks would of course desiderate νήσοισι ταῖς ὑπερθεν. In default they would naturally try—how vainly, we can see for ourselves—to connect ὑπερθεν with the verb ἐπιπροέηκε. What wonder that failing in this they fell back on the intelligible grammar of θοῇσιν from P 708 in spite of the forced and unnatural sense?

I turn now to the meaning assigned to ὑπερθεν as a point of some interest. Strictly parallel is the use of ἄνω in Ω 544 f.

ὅσσον Λέσβος ἄνω, Μάκαρος ἔδος, ἐντὸς ἑέργει

(leg. ὅσσους)

καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλάσποντος ἀπείρων.

Here ἄνω does not mean 'to the north', being taken closely with ἑέργει, as some authorities say (Faesi &c.), but 'seaward', 'towards the main', just as in the next line καθύπερθε means 'towards the interior', 'towards the mainland', the starting point being in both cases the Trojan plain, the shore of the

Troad. As for the construction *Λέσβος ἄνω* = ἡ ἄνω Λέσβος, 'Lesbos out to sea' and *Φρυγίῃ καθύπερθε* = ἡ καθύπερθε Φρυγίῃ, 'Phrygia in the interior'; for, as Dr Leaf well observes in his note on this passage, 'To a Greek on the coast a journey either inland or to sea was up'.

In γ 170

ἡ καθύπερθε Χίοιο νεοίμεθα παιπαλοέσσης  
νῆσους ἔπι Ψυρίης αὐτὴν ἐπ' ἀριστέρ' ἔχοντες  
ἡ ὑπένερθε Χίοιο παρ' ἡνεμόεντα Μίμαντα,

though the adverbs are used as prepositions the sense they bear is practically just the same. *καθύπερθε Χίοιο* means 'seaward of Chios', on that side of Chios which faces the main, i.e. westward: *ὑπένερθε*, the converse of this, is 'landward of Chios', on that side which faces the Asiatic shore, i.e. eastward, as we might say 'under shelter of Chios'.

Again, later on in this book we have:—

ο 403 νῆσός τις Συρίη κυκλήσκειται, εἴ που ἀκούεις,  
Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν, ὅθι τροπαὶ ἡέλιου,

where *Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν* means 'in the open sea off Ortygia', whatever view be taken of the two localities mentioned, whether they be Delos and Syros in the Aegæan or, as is probable enough, imaginary lands in the unexplored west.

We see then that no fixed point of the compass is indicated by these terms; for *ἄνω* (Ω 544) refers to an island lying to the south: *καθύπερθε* (Ω 545) to a district situated to the east; *καθύπερθε* and *ὑπένερθε* (γ 170 and 172) indicate respectively a westward and eastward direction; again *καθύπερθε* (ο 404) seems to point to the south, while here (ο 299) if *ὑπέρθε* be right, the point of the compass is WNW.

It may be said in haste that a conjecture, which is unverified and unverifiable, is not worth making. This is not so without exception. The condition of the passage may not only permit but may demand correction. Such is the case here. Of the suggested improvement it is enough to say that it meets all the requirements of the passage. It gives an entirely adequate sense. Its disappearance may be readily explained, and lastly it has helped to expose the futility of one of the



accepted renderings of *ἄνω* in Ω 544, a rendering which possibly suit Herodotus, but cannot well be earlier than— use of geographical maps or charts, with which no one has ventured to hold that Homer was conversant. may  
the  
yet

In l. 300 for *ἢ κεν ἁλώῃ* we ought to read *ἢ κεν ἁλοίῃ* with Cobet (Misc. Crit. p. 376). Palaeographically the difference between the two forms amounts to little or nothing. If however we look to the meaning, the subj. is clearly inadmissible. To suppose that Telemachus thought, or intended to imply that his capture was the more likely alternative is a very curious misconception of the mental attitude of a youthful hero, and would never occur to either the poet or his hearers, or indeed to any one save a modern grammarian. It would probably be unfair to charge the ancient grammarians with this error. No doubt they fully believed *ἁλώῃ* (*ἁλώῃ*) to be an optative.

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ο 425 *ἐκ μὲν Σιδῶνος πολυχάλκου εὐχομαι εἶναι  
κούρη δ' εἴμ' Ἀρύβαντος ἐγὼ ῥυδὸν ἀφνειοῖο.*

One can hardly without culpable lenity conceal the disagreeable truth that in l. 425 the fourth foot is defective, being properly a trochee. It is true that the genitive in *-ου* (as also the dative in *-ῳ*), ordinarily short before a vowel, is not infrequently long: but there is an important restriction on its use with the latter quantity. In arsis the phenomenon is common and quite legitimate; in thesis it is seldom found, and the rare occasions, on which it does occur, may all be regarded as erroneous and corrupt. One well-known example, which from its repetition forms a considerable fraction of the whole number extant, will suffice by way of illustration. In Γ 146 we hear of a Trojan named Πάνθοος; the patronymic Πανθοΐδης occurs passim. In spite of this the ordinary texts exhibit:—

Ο 522 *εἶα Πάνθου νῖδον ἐνὶ προμάχοισι δαμῆναι.*

Ρ 9 *οὐδ' ἄρα Πάνθου νῖδος ἐνμμελὴς ἀμέλησε.*

40 *Πάνθῳ ἐν χεῖρεσσι βάλω καὶ Φρόντιδι δίη.*

59 *τοῖον Πάνθου νῖδον ἐνμμελίην Εὐφορβον.*

23 *ὅσσον Πάνθου νῖες ἐνμμελῖαι φρονέουσιν.*





π 23 (= ρ 41)

ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος· οὐ σ' ἔτ' ἐγὼ γε  
 ὄψεσθαι ἐφάμην, ἐπεὶ ὄχρεο νηὶ Πύλονδε.

To disarm suspicion I may say at once that beyond the slight improvement already suggested (v. p. 24) εἰσόψεσθ' ἐφάμην,—Naber's οὐκέτ'...ὄψεσθαι σ' gives a false position to the pronoun—I do not propose to make any change whatever; but I am by no means satisfied with, and I challenge the correctness of, the recognised rendering of the clause that begins my quotation, ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος, 'thou art come, Telemachus, sweet light of mine eyes' Butcher and Lang, 'ut Latine dicitur: mea lux, cf. Cic. ad Fam. xiv. 2' Ebeling's Lex. Hom., 'mein süßes Leben' Voss, 'like the Oriental 'light of my life', 'light of my eyes' Liddell and Scott.

Whether φάος ever became in later Greek a mere term of endearment for lovers, I will not attempt to decide. It is quite possible: it is even probable, though the instances in Liddell and Scott do not prove that it was so. But I utterly deny that there is any adequate reason for believing that Homer, who was no Oriental, either initiated or followed this interesting practice.

For the Homeric meaning of φάος outside the strictly literal sense of 'light' and the special φάεα = 'eyes', we have the evidence of the following passages:—

Z 6 Τρώων ῥῆξε φάλαγγα, φάος δ' ἐτάροισιν ἔθηκεν.

Π 95 ἀλλὰ πάλιν τρωπᾶσθαι, ἐπὴν φάος ἐν νήεσσιν  
 θήῃς.

Τ 95 ἥ οἱ πρόσθεν ἰοῦσα τίθει φάος,

Φ 538 αἱ δὲ πετασθεῖσαι τεύξαν φάος·

Ο 741 τῷ ἐν χερσὶ φόως, οὐ μείλιχίη πολέμοιο.

(Probably τῷ φάος ἐν χείρεσσ' κτλ.)

Θ 282 = Λ 797

βάλλ' οὕτως, αἶ κέν τι φάος Δαναοῖσι γένηται.

Ρ 615 καὶ τῷ μὲν φάος ἦλθεν, ἄμυνε δὲ νηλεὲς ἦμαρ.

Σ 102 οὐδέ τι Πατρόκλῳ γενόμεν φάος οὐδ' ἐτάροισιν.

where the meaning is 'victory', 'success', 'salvation', 'rescue'. In the last three instances the word is applied to a person; but



this makes little or no difference in the sense, 'the light of victory' in contrast to 'the darkness of defeat'. Hence in our two passages γλυκερὸν φάος, even as a vocative, must mean, I submit, not 'sweet darling' but 'welcome rescuer', 'dear deliverer'.

But is γλυκερὸν φάος a vocative? The possibility is undeniable; and indeed P 615, quoted above, rather supports this view, but is hardly decisive. I would suggest that γ. φ. is the accusative of the internal object after ἤλθες, as in the familiar:—

Ἐλένην κτάνωμεν Μενελάῳ λύπην πικράν.

The rendering would then be:—'thou art come, Telemachus,—a welcome deliverance, a sweet relief'. In other words 'thy coming, Telemachus, is a welcome relief'. This form of expression is thoroughly Homeric. In Γ 46—51 the conduct of Paris is described and finally characterised thus:—

πατρί τε σῶ μέγα πῆμα πόλῃ τε παντί τε δήμῳ,  
δυσμενέσιν μὲν χάρμα, κατηφείην δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ.

Ω 735 ῥίψει χειρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου, λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.

Compare also ζ 184—5. In either case φάος here is not a namby-pamby term of endearment as is commonly supposed, but retains the full vigour and vitality of its ordinary sense, and this is my main contention.

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π 107 ἦ τάδε γ' αἰὲν ἀεικέα ἔργ' ὀράσθαι,  
ξείνους τε στυφελιζομένους δμῶας τε γυναῖκας  
ῥυστάζοντας ἀεικελίως κατὰ δώματα καλά,  
καὶ οἶνον διαφυσσόμενον καὶ σῖτον ἔδοντας  
μὰψ αὐτῶς ἀτέλεστον ἀνηνύστω ἐπὶ ἔργῳ.

There is a curious variation, more striking perhaps because it is symmetrical, in this series of participles στυφελιζομένους, ῥυστάζοντας, διαφυσσόμενον, ἔδοντας, an alternation of passive and active. Change of subject is Homeric enough, but this fluctuation seems to transgress the limits of allowable license, especially when simply by changing διαφυσσόμενον to δια-



φυσσομένους we might take all the participles as transitive with one and the same subject, thus rendering the construction incomparably more natural with very little sacrifice of tradition.

I have quoted the passage however mainly to draw attention to ἀτέλεστον in the last line. It must, I think, be regarded grammatically as an adjective agreeing with σίτον, though in sense it will be adverbial. The meaning, if we follow Ameis-Hentze (endlos, ohne Ende), is 'without end or measure', 'without stint'. This rendering I venture to dispute: ἀτέλεστος cannot properly carry such a sense. It means 'unconsummated', 'imperfect', 'unsuccessful', v. Δ 26, β 273, θ 571.

If again we adopt as the meaning here, 'fruitlessly', 'to no good end', the result is still not much more satisfactory. The doubt as to the legitimacy of the translation is not entirely removed, and ἀτέλεστον, so understood, merely anticipates the following phrase ἀνηνύστω ἐπὶ ἔργῳ. Under such circumstances I see no escape from the conclusion of Thiersch 'Dieser Vers ist einzig schlecht—endigt sich sehr tautologisch'.

I believe however it might be redeemed by a single change:—

μὰν αὐτως ἀτελέστω ἀνηνύστω ἐπὶ ἔργῳ.

Even if ἀτελέστω and ἀνηνύστω bear an identical meaning, 'impracticable', 'unattainable', still the strengthening or enforcing of an idea by such iteration is a very different thing from the addition of a long clause which merely explains a word in itself sufficient: but probably there is after all no such tautology about the adjectives as is here supposed. Without any undue stretching of the Homeric usage of verbal adjectives I think we may render the proposed reading:—'while their real object remains *unattained* and *unattainable*', 'engaged in a business *that has failed* and *is doomed to failure*'.

In this light the line is far from being a bad one (schlecht). The expression rises by a fitting gradation, forming a very effective and telling climax.

π 181 ἄλλοῖός μοι, ξεῖνε, φάνης νέον ἢ ἐπάροιθεν.

Although it is obvious that Telemachus means only to remark that the stranger (Odysseus) is considerably altered in appearance from what he was before,—we have just been told that Athene touched him with her golden wand—yet the extraction of this simple sense from the text is a matter of serious difficulty. We are asked to render thus: 'Thou seemest just now, stranger, a man other than before'. Messrs Butcher and Lang have it 'Even now, stranger, thou art other in my sight than that thou wert a moment since'.

The difficulty is that νέον φάνης is not practically different from ἐπάροιθεν φάνης at all. While both expressions necessarily refer to a time now past, νέον conveys the additional information that this time has only just gone by, so that νέον φάνης means 'you appeared just now', 'a little while ago', 'νεωστί'. If there were any doubt of this, it should be set at rest by the lines we meet a little farther on:—

199 ἦ γάρ τοι νέον ἦσθα γέρων καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσσο.  
νῦν δὲ θεοῖσι ἔοικας, οἳ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν.

where νέον ἦσθα is properly contrasted with νῦν ἔοικας, and where moreover νέον ἦσθα is not materially different from πάρος or ἐπάροιθεν ἦσθα.

Hence we find Prof. Hartman suggesting, with some approbation from van Leeuwen and da Costa, that we should read:—

νέον ἢ δὲ ἐπάροιθεν

'modo et antea' 'lately and previously'. No doubt this is sense, a little loose perhaps: it ought at least to be 'previously and lately': but it is certainly not poetry.

It is surprising that φάνης νῦν has not been suggested. Perhaps it has. It could not however be regarded as a real solution of the difficulty: for we should then have the aor. φάνης used firstly as the aor. which refers idiomatically to the present as just past, e.g. Arist. Knights 696

ἦσθην ἀπειλαῖς, ἐγέλασα ψολοκομπίαις,

and secondly as an ordinary past tense with ἐπάροιθεν. Singly



and apart these usages may be unexceptionable, but they cannot, I submit, be thus combined and confused in one sentence.

I think it is clear that the error is in the little suspected *πάροιθεν*, for which I once fancied *περ ἤδη* might be right; but now I see that the true solution of the problem is slightly different. The line, I assume, originally stood thus:—

*ἄλλοιὸς μοι, ξεῖνε, φάνης νέον ἢ ἐπερ ᾧδε.*

Palaeographically ΠΕΡΟΔΕ might easily be misread into ΠΑΡΟΙΘΕ, and certainly to the later Greeks *ἢ ἐπερ ᾧδε* would hardly seem a natural or readily intelligible expression for *ἢ νῦν*; but yet it is not difficult to see that this is the Homeric meaning of the formula. I find the following instances:—

B 258 εἴ κ' ἔτι σ' ἀφραίνοντα κιχήσομαι, ὥς νύ περ ᾧδε.

Ω 398 ἀφνειὸς μὲν ὃ γ' ἐστί, γέρων δὲ δὴ ὥς σύ περ ᾧδε.

Hym. Dem. 116

*τηλίκαι, ὥς σύ περ ᾧδε, καὶ ὀπλότεραι γεγάασιν.*

Evidently the present corruption for all its facility could never have held its ground, or indeed have gained a footing at all, except for the use of the aor. above mentioned, which is also Homeric to a certain extent, but v. Mr Monro H. G. § 78. The meaning however of *φάνης νέον* is absolutely and irrevocably determined by *νέον ἦσθα*.

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π 217 φῆναι ἢ αἰγυπιοὶ γαμφώνυχες, οἷσί τε τέκνα  
*ἀγρόται ἐξείλοντο πάρος πετεηνὰ γενέσθαι.*

If we consider this passage in connection with:—

λ 293 δεσμοὶ τ' ἀργαλέοι καὶ βουκόλοι ἀγροῖῶται.

φ 85 νῆπιοι ἀγροῖῶται, ἐφημέρια φρονέοντες

Δ 549 κύνες τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγροῖῶται. = O 272

676 καὶ δ' ἔπεισεν, λαοὶ δὲ περίτρεσαν ἀγροῖῶται.

we cannot fail to notice the unique *ἀγρόται*, a form which evidently does not belong to the same linguistic period as the synonymous *ἀγροῖῶται*. Two courses are now open,



Either we may regard the presence of ἀγρόται in π 218 as proof positive that this passage could not have been written before ἀγρότης had come into use instead of the earlier ἀγροιώτης. This is the usual inference and is commonly accepted as irrefutable. Payne Knight (Prolegom. § 44) cites this very ἀγρότης as an example of those words which 'Atticam istam elegantiam et concinnitatem, quae majestatem veteris linguae paullatim subruebat, jamdudum obreptantem produunt.' And so the way is opened for a vapid flood of argument intended to demonstrate the composite and unreal character of Homer's language.

On the other hand it may be said, and I see no effective reply to the allegation, that the word ἀγρότης here cannot be trusted as a basis for any conclusions respecting the original date of the poems: for it may be, and very probably is, a mere modernisation, a substitution of the familiar for the obsolete made in later times, because the passage happened to lend itself easily to such a substitution. On this hypothesis we may assume that the original ran:

ἀγροιώται ἔλοντο.

Now the later Greeks used ἀγρόται in their daily speech and also—this may be noted as a minor point—εἶλοντο rather than ἔλοντο. By merely adding the little preposition ἐκ, making a compound verb, which indeed suits the later idiom better than the simple one, they secured the double advantage of ἀγρόται ἐξείλοντο. What harm that they could realise or appreciate is done to Homer by the substitution? Would any Greek of the age of Pericles have preferred that his children in their repetition-lessons should commit to memory and say ἀγροιώται ἔλοντο rather than ἀγρόται ἐξείλοντο? Not one. Attica ista elegantia et concinnitas facillime punctum omne tulissent.

The perception of the possibility of this modification, a possibility rising in fact to a very high level of probability, is not to be treated as if it were an impression or conviction that the later Greeks disregarded all limits of moderation and reason in the modernisation of their ancient epic heirlooms. The very

word we are now considering, ἀγροῖωται, is an absolute proof that they did not. We see that in four instances out of the archaic form is maintained unimpaired, and if it is sacrificed in π 218, the reason for its abandonment is plainly discernible in the one case, as the cause of its retention in the other four.

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π 290 = τ 9 ἀλλὰ κατήκισται, ὅσον πυρὸς ἵκετ' αὐτμή.

The verb κατήκισται presents another patent modernisation, quite on a par with the one just noticed, and an example of the so-called legitimate hiatus to boot. Fortunately αἰκίζω is well established as the only legitimate Homeric form of the simple verb, Π 545, Τ 26 αἰκίσσωσι, Χ 256 αἰκιῶ (leg. αἰκίσομ'), Ω 22, 54 αἰκίζεν (-ει), Π 559 αἰκισσαίμεθ', Χ 404 αἰκίσσασθαι, not to mention the cognate and confirmatory αἰκῆς, αἰκέλιος, αἰκείη.

This is moreover one of the cases in which we are compelled to recognise what is called the medial digamma, ἀφεκίζω, so that the contraction given in the vulgate is for Homer doubly impossible. Consequently there is hardly room for doubt that the true reading here is:—

ἀλλὰ κατηέκισται, ὅσον πυρὸς ἵκετ' αὐτμή.

It is easy to see that the lack of a separate sign to distinguish η from ε in the earlier writing would much facilitate the honest delusion that κατήκισται was the Homeric form. The difference between the forms is only that between εει and ει.

I have to resign the priority in the making of this correction to van Herwerden, and therefore I may without interested motives, as I am not the first in the field, declare my conviction not only that the case against the accepted form κατήκισται is unanswerable, but that Herwerden's restoration of the original is as assuredly right, as if it were vouched for by every extant MS.

The change of ὅσον to ὅσων can hardly, I should imagine, offend even the most susceptible.

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π 418 Ἀντίνο', ὕβριν ἔχων, κακομήχανε, καὶ δέ σέ φασιν  
ἐν δῆμῳ Ἰθάκης μεθ' ὁμήλικας ἔμμεν ἄριστον  
βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισιν·

Can we rightly assign to the phrase μεθ' ὁμήλικας the sense here obviously required, 'among thy coevals', 'amidst thy peers'? If we could stringently limit our range of view to this passage and one other:—

I 53 Τυδείδῃ, περί μὲν πολέμῳ ἔνι καρτερός ἐσσι,  
καὶ βουλῇ μετὰ πάντας ὁμήλικας ἔπλεν ἄριστος.

we might possibly rest in a state of stolid contentment. But the moment we audaciously proceed per vetitum et nefas to take into consideration the ordinary usage of μετὰ with the acc., our satisfaction—alas!—is at an end for ever.

Now μετὰ with acc. frequently occurs in Homer after a verb of motion with the meaning (1) 'to join the company of', (2) 'in pursuit of', 'in quest of', e.g. (1) A 222 μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους (βεβήκει), π 85, (2) ζ 133 ἥ ἐ μετ' ἀγροτέρας ἐλάφους (ἔρχεται), Δ 292 βῆ δὲ μετ' ἄλλους, Λ 700. Then (3) it means merely 'after', 'next to' without the necessity for any verb of motion, φ 190 ἐκ δ' αὐτὸς μετὰ τοὺς δόμου ἤλυθε, λ 260 τὴν δὲ μετ' Ἀντιόπην ἶδον &c. &c.

From this last usage comes directly its employment in certain sentences closely analogous to, and yet oddly different from, the peculiar pair under examination:—

B 674 Νιρέυς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν  
τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα·

I 140 = 282

αἷ κε μετ' Ἀργείην Ἑλένην κάλλισται ἔωσιν.

M 103 οἱ γὰρ οἱ εἶσαντο διακριδὸν εἶναι ἄριστοι  
τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ γ' αὐτόν·

Here γε probably represents an original ἐφέ.

θ 117 Ναυβολίδης, ὃς ἄριστος ἔην εἰδός τε δέμας τε  
πάντων Φαιήκων μετ' ἀμύμονα Λαοδάμαντα.

λ 522 κείνου δὴ κάλλιστον ἶδον μετὰ Μέμνονα δῖον  
(κάλλιστον δὴ τόν γε ἶδον Cobet.)

Add λ 470, 551, ω 18.



It appears then that *μετά* with acc., especially after superlatives *ἄριστος* &c., has a very distinct and definite meaning, practically 'with the exception of', more literally 'in succession to', 'ranking next to'. If so,—and the quoted passages seem to place the matter beyond all doubt—then in π 419 popular rumour and in I 54 the aged Nestor paid Antinous and Tydides respectively a very ambiguous, or rather left-handed, compliment by classing them as 'best after (every one of) their compeers'.

Recognising the absurdity of this, Nauck has suggested, and van Leeuwen and da Costa have accepted, the correction:—

*καθ' ὁμήλικας,*

but I think the difficulty may be surmounted and the corruption accounted for much more easily, if we suppose that the original was in the first case:—

*μεθ' ὁμηλίκεσ' ἔμμεν ἄριστον,*

and in the second:—

*μετὰ πάντεσ' ὁμηλίκεσ' ἔπλε' ἄριστος.*

The dative, which after *μετά* is epic, not Attic, affords the required meaning, 'amid thy compeers'. We have already seen the proper use of *μετά* with acc. after a superlative, and the construction with the dat., the superlative being still present, may now be illustrated to confirm the emendation. We have:—

A 516 *μετὰ πᾶσιν ἀτιμοτάτῃ θεός εἰμι,*

where no misguided remodeler has introduced *μετὰ πάντας*, which would be admissible if π 419 and I 54 be right: but no one would like, I fancy, to have to defend such a change.

Π 570 *βλῆτο γὰρ οὐ τι κάκιστος ἀνὴρ μετὰ Μυρμιδόγεσσιν·*  
Ψ 476 *οὔτε νεώτατός ἐσσι μετ' Ἀργείοισι τοσοῦτον.*

In these two lines also the datives have been left undisturbed for a very good and obvious reason.

For similar instances of the archaic form of the dat. plur. in

·εσ· expelled in favour of the acc. I may refer to Journ. Phil. XXVI pp. 146—8, conf. ν 164 (Note).

If Nauck's remedy, *κατά*, be wanted anywhere, let it be applied to B 143 where *μετά πληθύν* is certainly objectionable, more objectionable than ever if the argument here advanced be accepted; for nothing is then left to keep it in countenance. But really little reliance can be placed upon the genuineness of B 143 at all: it was athetised by Aristarchus and probably rightly. Again *καθ' ὄμιλον* (van Leeuwen and da Costa) may be right in P 149, but the traditional *μεθ' ὄμιλον* is not quite indefensible after *σαώσεως*, and may well be left in undisturbed possession.

T. L. AGAR.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

My attention has been called to the fact that in ν 30 *ἐπειγόμενον* is the reading of at least one MS., No. 5 in the Imperial Library, Vienna, v. La Roche, Hayman ad loc. This MS. was collated along with the other Viennese MSS. by F. C. Alter in 1794. It was regarded as of some importance by Heyne: but van Leeuwen (*Mnemosyne* 1889) declares it is a mere copy of Palatinus 45, and more recently it has been entirely ignored by Ludwig (1891) in his *apparatus criticus*. La Roche (*Proleg. ad Odys.*) is very severe upon it (L):—"vitiis cujusvis generis est depravatus et nullius pretii." However he concludes his censure with the significant words:—"tamen hic quoque codex habet nonnulla, quae ad emendandam Odysseam non sint inutilia." I have to thank it for raising my conjecture to the rank of a variant.

T. L. AGAR.

## EURIPIDEA.

ELECTR. 447, 8.

Νυμφαίας σκοπιὰς  
κόρας μάτευσ' ἔνθα πατήρ.

Perhaps

Νυμφαίας σκοπιωρούς  
ματεῦσ', ἔνθα πατήρ.

And in the strophe, 437, 8.

εἰελισσόμενος πορεύ-  
ων τὸν τᾷς Θέτιδος.

*νυμφαίας σκοπιωρούς*, sc. *νάπας* 'perque Pelion perque sacra nemora in radicibus Ossae unde nymphae speculantur, quaerunt locum, ubi Chiron Achillem educabat.'

*ματεῦσ'* = *ματέουσι*, another form of *ματεύειν*. Theocr. xxix. 15, ἐξ ἑτέρου δ' ἑτέρον μάτεις (so Ahrens, *μάτης* Hermann). Hesych. *ματεῖ* ζητεῖ. The use of *ματεύειν* in Theocr. xxi. 65 of searching a place εἰ δ' ὕπαρ, οὐ κνώσσω τὸ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα *ματεύσεις* is some support for *ματεῦσ'* in the passage of the Electra.

Heracl. 949.

ὃς καὶ παρ' αἶδην ζῶντά νιν †κατήγαγες,  
ὕδρας λέοντας τ' ἐξαπολλύναι λέγων  
ἔπεμπες.

perhaps *κάτωθε* γῆς.

H. F. 1003.

Πάλλας κραδαίνουσ' ἔγχος ἐπὶ λόφῳ κέαρ.

Barnes conj. *ἐπίλογχον χέρα*: possibly *ἐπιλόγχῳ χερὶ*. The



dj. is not an otiose addition: the hand is represented as rasping the *shaft* of the spear.

994 ἰδοὺ τί δεσμοῖς ναῦς ὅπως ὥρμισμένος  
πρὸς ἡμιθραύστῳ λαΐνῳ τειχίσματι  
ἦ μὲν νεκροῖσι γείτονας θάκους ἔχων.

This should be not ἦμαι, but ἦμην. 'Why was I ever seated?' 'what could bring me to seat myself?'

51 ἦ σάρκα τήνδε τὴν ἐμὴν ἐμπρήσας πυρὶ  
δύσκληιαν ἦ μένει μ' ἀπώσομαι βίου;

Possibly

ἦ σάρκα τὴν ἔμηνεν ἐμπρήσας πυρὶ

*corpus quod in furias egit (sc. Iuno) incendam et sic uitae  
deus quod me manet auertam?*

ἔμηνεν sc. Ἡρα.

Suppl. 247.

χαίρων ἴθι μὴ γὰρ βεβούλευσαι καλῶς  
αὐτὸς πιέζειν τὴν τύχην ἡμᾶς λίαν.

Perhaps

χαίρων ἴθ'· οἶμαι δ' εἰ βεβούλευσαι καλῶς  
αὐτός, πιέζειν τὴν τύχην ἡμᾶς λίαν.

Kirchhoff's MS. C has ἴθι δὴ μὴ γὰρ, pointing perhaps to

δὴ  
ἴθι μὴ γάρ.

333 πικροὺς ἐσεΐδες γάμους  
πικρὰν δὲ Φοίβου φάτιν  
ἔγματος.

I suggest ἔφηνας.

338 μέλλων σ' ἐρωτᾶν, ἥνίκ' ἐξήντλεις κακά,  
γόους ἀφήσω, τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐκλιπὼν  
† ἐς τὰ σὰ μύθους.

Probably ἐκεῖσε.

99 πολλοὺς δ' ἐραστὰς κἀπὸ θηλειῶν † ὄσας  
ἔχων ἐφρούρει μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν.

Perhaps ἴσως. From Wecklein's new edition I see that ἴσας has already been conjectured by Canter.

- 1013                    τύχα δέ μοι  
                           ξυνάπτει ποδὸς †ἀλλὰ τῆς  
                           εὐκλείας χάριν ἔνθεν ὀρ-  
                           μάσω τᾶσδ' ἀπὸ πέτρας.

For ἀλλὰ τῆς write ἀλλαγαῖς 'the shiftings of my foot,' and cf. Elect. 103 ἔξω τρίβου τοῦδ' ἵχνος ἀλλαξώμεθα.

- 1025                    ἴτω φῶς γάμοι τε.  
                           †εῖθε τινὲς εὐναὶ  
                           δικαίων ὑμεναίων ἐν Ἀργεῖ  
                           φανῶσιν τέκνοισιν.

I have little doubt that the ε of εῖθε represents αι, and that the word which preceded εὐναὶ was αἵτινες. If this is so, it seems possible that εῖθ' may be ἴθ' (ἴτε) and that the change from 2nd to 3rd person in ἴθ' αἵτινες φανῶσι may be like similar cases elsewhere. Bacch. 346 στειχέτω τις ὡς τάχος, Ἐλθὼν δὲ θάκουσ τούσδ' ἵν' οἴωνοσκοπεῖ, Μοχλοῖς τριαίνου κἀνάτρεψον ἔμπαλιν. A much more surprising change of persons is quoted by Kühner (ed. Blass, *Gramm. d. Gr. Spr.* 370) from Isaëus, p. 84 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ Στράτιος καὶ Στρατοκλῆς παρεσκευάζοντο ἅπαντες.

I. A. 1207.

εἰ δ' εὖ λέλεκται †νῶι μὴ δὴ γε κτάνης  
                           τὴν σὴν τε κἀμὴν παῖδα καὶ σῶφρων ἔσει.

Possibly γνῶθι μῆδ' ἔτι κτάνης.

I. T. 193.

ἀλλάξας δ' ἐξ ἔδρας  
                           ἱερὸν ὄμμ' αὐγάς  
                           ἄλιος.

After αὐγάς I suspect ἀνταύγας' has fallen out: *mutatoque ex sede sua sacro adspectu luminis contrario lumine refulsit sol.*

- 226                    ξείνων αἰμάσσουσ' ἄταν βομούς.

As αἰμόρραντον occurs in the preceding verse, no compound

of αῖμα can be thought probable. I suggest μάσσουσ' (and βωμοῖς as Heath conj.). From kneading it is no long step to smearing.

311 ἀφρόν τ' ἀπέψα.

Wecklein prints ἀπέψη. May not the form be retained?

Hesych. ἀπέψα· ἀπέμασσεν.

343 τὰ δ' ἐνθάδ' ἡμεῖς †οῖα φροντιούμεθα.

οῖδα is a possible emendation.

695—7 σωθεῖς δὲ παῖδας ἐξ ἐμῆς ὁμοσπόρου  
κτησάμενος, ἣν ἔδωκά σοι δάμαρτ' ἔχειν,  
ὄνομά τ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτ' ἄν, οὐδ' ἅπαις δόμος  
πατρῶος οὐμὸς ἐξαλειφθείη ποτ' ἄν.

Perhaps γένοι' ἄν, 'you will become the preserver of my name.'

941 sqq.

μεταδρομαῖς Ἑρινύων  
ἤλαυνόμεσθα φυγάδες, ἔστ' ἐμὸν πόδα  
εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας δὴ γ' ἔπεμψε Λοξίας  
δίκην παρασχεῖν ταῖς ἀνωνύμοις θεαῖς.

I think δῆθ' for δῆθεν may be right. El. 268 ὡς δῆθε παῖδας μὴ τέκοις ποινάτορας. There is a sneer in Orestes' words: he implies that Apollo's sending him to stand his trial at Athens produced only a very partial mitigation of his sufferings: for, as he states in 970, those of the Erinyes who voted against him continued to hound him till he came to Delphi.

ROBINSON ELLIS.



## HIATUS IN PLAUTUS.

BEFORE the time of Ritschl most editors of Plautus felt themselves bound to accept almost every instance of Hiatus that was forced upon them by the 'consensus' of the then available MSS. In all the MSS., for example, *Trin.* 18, an Iambic Senarius, appeared in this form:

huic nomen Graece est Thensauro fabulae,

with Hiatus between *Graece* and *est*; the second hemistich of *Pseud.* 375, a Trochaic Septenarius, in this form:

facere officium meum,

with Hiatus between *facere* and *officium*. And the acceptance of these 'versus hiantes' was justified by an appeal to Cicero's words in the *Orator* (XLV. 152): *sed Graeci viderint; nobis, ne si cupiamus quidem, distrahere voces conceditur. Inducant orationes illae ipsae horridulae Catonis, inducant omnes poetae praeter eos qui, ut versum facerent (i.e. 'through metrical exigencies'), saepe hiabant, ut Naevius:*

uos, qui | accolitis Hístrum fluuium atque álgidam,  
et ibidem:

quam núnquam uobis Grafi | atque bárbari,  
at Ennius semel (saepe *edd.*):

Scipiō | inuicte,  
et quidem nos:

hoc motu radiantis Etesiaē | in vada ponti.

Hoc idem nostri saepius non tulissent, quod Graeci laudare etiam solent.

Ritschl's production of the evidence of the Ambrosian Palimpsest (A) changed the aspect of the case. It was found that the 'consensus' of the MSS. in these two lines, and in others of the kind, was merely the result of their derivation from a common original (P), a MS. probably of Charlemagne's time or later. The scribe of P, or of some archetype of P, had transposed the words *nomen* and *Graece* in *Trin.* 18 and had omitted the Pronoun *me* in *Pseud.* 375. In the fourth century Palimpsest, which not merely precedes P in age by many centuries but also exhibits a different recension or ancient edition of the text, these lines appear in their true form:

huic Graece nomen ést Thensauro fábulae,

and

fácere me officiúm meum.

Now transposition of words is one of the commonest errors of scribes; and the omission of small words, especially such as are not necessary to the sense of the sentence, is an error to which scribes of Plautus' Comedies are peculiarly liable, for this comedian delights in the otiose use of Pronouns (*ego, tu, hic, etc.*), Particles (*pol, quí, etc.*) and the like. How then is an editor to decide in the numerous passages for which the evidence of the fragmentary Palimpsest is not available, whether a 'versus hians' retains the 'ipsa verba' of Plautus or owes its abnormal form to a mere scribal error? This is the most difficult of all the problems which an editor of Plautus has to face; and it is one of constant occurrence, for in the Palimpsest the whole of the *Amphitruo*, *Asinaria*, *Aulularia* and *Curculio* is missing, nearly the whole of the *Captivi* (and *Vidularia*), and a great part of the other plays; the best preserved are the *Stichus*, *Persa*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus* and *Trinummus*. For the greater part of the plays we have only the evidence of P to appeal to, save that lines here and there are preserved in quotations by ancient Grammarians, such as Nonius, Festus, Charisius, Priscian.

That Hiatus was a feature of the older poetry is a fact which cannot be denied. Cicero's statement (*ut versus facerent, saepe hiabant*) is conclusive on this point; and it is supported

by the evidence (so far as that goes) of Saturnian Verse, in which any final long vowel or final syllable in *-m* seem normally to remain unelided before an initial vowel. Thus *uirginem oraret* and *aut ibi ommentans* seem to be six-syllable hemistichs of the same type as *Naeuio poetae* (for details see *Amer. Journ. Phil.* xiv. 309). And we have Hiatus expressly attested by Priscian in a couplet of Ennius (*Ann.* 354 M.):

insignita fere tum milia militū | octo  
duxit delectos, bellum superare potentes.

Saturnian versification transmitted to the early Latin adaptations of Greek Metre not merely its use of Alliteration and something of its regard for Accent, but also, in greater or less degree, its tolerance of Hiatus. Ritschl's uncompromising attitude of hostility to Hiatus is now given up by all editors of Plautus. No one now believes that Plautus, while readily admitting Elision at the end of the first hemistich of long lines, did not also readily admit Hiatus. Lines like :

*Men.* 778 nēscio quid uos uēlitati | ēstis inter uōs duos,  
*Amph.* 208 redūcturum, abiturōs agro | Argūos, pacem atque  
ōtium,  
*Mil.* 1228 namque ēdepol uix fuit cōpiā | adeūdi atque  
impetrādi,

are no longer tampered with by editors; for it is acknowledged that the pause that followed the utterance of the first half of these lines justifies Hiatus, in the same way that it justifies the lengthening of a short syllable in lines like *Mil.* 1228 (just quoted),

*Asin.* 634 quas hōdie adulescens Diabolūs ipsī daturus dixit.

At the same time no two editors are agreed upon the exact limits observed by Plautus in his tolerance of Hiatus, upon the precise extent to which Cicero's statement, *ut verum faceret, hiabat*, applies to this early poet, the earliest whose works have, in any measure of completeness, been preserved.

It is clear that in the investigation of this subject we must be careful in the selection of our material. We must confine



ourselves, for the first at least, to lines whose text depends on something better than the evidence of one archetype. It is useless to compile lists of instances of Hiatus which have no stronger evidence than the Carolingian archetype (*P*) of the Palatine MSS.; what assurance have we that they are not all of the same type as the examples quoted above, *Graece | est* and *facere | officium*, and that the Ambrosian Palimpsest (*A*), if we could discover or decipher its version of the lines, would not present them in a different and more correct form?<sup>1</sup> Lines which are supported by the evidence of both *P* and *A*, or of *P* and some ancient Grammarian, have far stronger claims to our credence. They are likely to be either the 'ipsa verba' of Plautus, or at least the version that passed current as such in the early centuries of our era.

The method therefore that I propose to follow is this, to use as material only those 'versus hiantes' whose text is strongly established and to examine how many of the types of Hiatus which they exhibit are justified from later poetry, whether by its occasional use of the same licence or by its patent avoidance of Elision in such cases. For I take it that Latin Poetry flowed in a continuous stream from Livius Andronicus to Virgil, and that the prosody of one generation was never wholly alien from that of the generation that preceded it. When we find Catullus (xcvii. 1) and Virgil (*Ecl.* viii. 108) admitting *ita me dī ament* and *an quī amant*, we cannot disconnect these scansiones from the forms in which these phrases normally (not occasionally) appear in Plautus, e.g.:

*Trin.* 241 nam quī amat quod amat, etc.,

*Cist.* 280 nam quī amant stulte atque inmodeste atque inprobe,

*Merc.* 744 nam quī amat quod amat, etc.

*Curc.* 142 (anapaestic) Palinúre. Edepol quī amát, sí eget, etc.

*Pseud.* 943 (anapaestic) Ita mé dī ament—Ita nón facient, etc.

<sup>1</sup> For example, one of the lines used as evidence that Hiatus was permissible before initial *h* is *Rud.* 11:

qui fácta | hominum, móres, pietatem ét fidem (*P, A n. l.*),

where, it now appears, the Codex Turnebi had *moresque*.

With Plautus' lines before us we can no longer regard the Hiatus of *dī, qui* in these phrases in Catullus' and Virgil's lines as a mere artificial imitation of Greek metrical licences, like *Actaeo | Aracyntho*. Clearly the phrases were pronounced on Roman lips in this way; and the Early Dramatists, who aimed at the reproduction of the language of actual, everyday life, felt no scruples in giving them this scansion in their verse.

The Prosodic Hiatus of monosyllables ending in a long vowel or *m* persists so determinedly in Republican poetry and even in the more colloquial part of Horace's writings (the *Satires* and *Epistles*), that Ritschl himself was forced to allow it a place in Plautus. Its exact limits in Plautine Verse are not easy to define<sup>1</sup>. On the one hand we see a clear tendency to avoid by this means the total absorption by Elision of an emphatic monosyllable, e.g.

Tú|erus es, tu séruom quaere, tú salueto, tú uale.

On the other, we see Enclitics or subordinate words joined with a neighbouring word into a word-group and thus avoiding elision, e.g. *quī-amant, quī-homo* like *dēamant*, etc. More questioned is the Prosodic Hiatus with Iambic and Cretic words, as in Virgil's *vale, valē, | inquit* (cf. Ovid *Met.* iii. 501), and *insulaē | Ionio in magno*, Lucretius' *remigē | oblitae penarum*, Catullus' *uno in lectulō, | erudituli ambo* (v. l. *lecticulo*), Ennius' *Scipiō | invicte*, and *milia militūm | octo* (see above); for many scholars believe these to be imitations of Greek scansions like *ἔσσεταί ἥμαρ* (pronounced, according to Blass, *ἔσσετᾱ-y-ἥμαρ*). At the same time it is well known that the elision of the final vowel of an Iambic or Cretic word is avoided in Latin Poetry; and this fact suggests that there was something in the actual Latin pronunciation that operated against the suppression of the final long vowel or (the equivalent of a long vowel) the vowel followed by *-m* in such a collocation of syllables. The rarity of elision of the last syllable of *quidem*,

<sup>1</sup> That the unelided monosyllable occasionally constitutes one 'mora', e.g. *dē hórdeo* (Asin. 706, *P*, Nonius) like *quāmbrem, dēhórto*, *ī hác* (Pseud. 1332, *A P*), is now generally admitted;

but the matter has not yet been thoroughly investigated. The change of *me, te* in Hiatus of this kind to *med, ted* may not be invariably a necessity.



for example (see Munro's note on *Lucr.* iii. 904), lends credence to the traditional text of Ennius *Ann.* 322 M.:

dum quidē | unus homo Romanu' toga superescit.

A very strongly attested instance of this kind in Plautus, attested by both *P* and *A* and by an ancient Grammarian also, is:

*Pseud.* 319 úna opera alligém fugitiuam cánēm | agninis  
láctibus (*AP, Nonius*),

and similarly:

*Stich.* 152 síquae forte ex Ásia nauis hérī | aut hodie uénerit  
(*AP*),

*Pseud.* 317 aút terra aut marí | alicunde, etc. (*AP*),

*Pers.* 537 méa quidem istuc níl refert, | tuá ego hoc facio  
grátia (*AP*),

*Poen.* 497 Certúm. Tum tu ígitur die bonó | Aphrodísiis  
(*AP*),

*Bacch.* 51 dúaě | unum expetitís palumbem, etc. (*P, Nonius*),

*Merc.* 257 nauem éx Rhodo qua est hérī | aduectus fílius  
(*AP*),

while for Cretic words we have lines like:

*Most.* 675 atque éuocă | aliquem íntus ad te, Tránio (*AP*),

*Pseud.* 1121 (anapaestic) atque áliquem euocēm | hinc íntus  
(*AP*),

*Bacch.* 134 ibidem égo meam operam pérdidī, | ubi tú tuam  
(*P, Charisius*),

*Poen.* 988 pro dí immortales, plúrimī | ad illúm modum  
(*AP*),

*Pseud.* 346 quíndecīm | habeó minas (*AP*).

The incidence of the ictus, be it remarked, cannot have had anything to do with the scansion. If Plautus pronounced the phrase as *evocă aliquem* (or *hinc*) *íntus*, he would scan it after this fashion, whether the ictus or beat of the verse fell on the first or second or third syllable of the word *evoca*. I can see no justification for the widely prevalent opinion that Plautine Prosody is in great measure controlled by the incidence of ictus, by the fall, in other words, of the baton of a conductor



marking the time (*pollicis ictus*, Horace). Surely the prosody of a word, the quantity and articulation of a syllable, must have been controlled by the pronunciation of the word in the phrase or sentence, and not by anything else whatever. If the phrase *vale ait* was pronounced by Roman lips *va-lě-a-it*, Plautus could employ it as an opening for an Iambic line, with ictus *valě ait*, as well as for a Trochaic line, with ictus *válě ai*. The exact conditions, apart from mere metrical exigencies, under which Plautus uses Hiatus with Iambic and Cretic words (and word-endings) are difficult to determine. It seems to me that an emphatic disyllable, like *tuo* in such a line as *Asin.* 147:

túō facit iussu, túō | imperio páret, etc.,

is treated like emphatic *tu* in the line quoted above:

tú|erus es, tu séruom quaeris, etc.

But since a full collection of the instances of this type of Hiatus can be found in Klotz *Altrömische Metrik*, pp. 119 sqq., it is unnecessary to say more about it here. Nor need I do more than mention another kind of Hiatus, viz. Hiatus with Interjections (including *eccum*); for this remained as fully in use in classical, as in Plautine verse. And other two types of Hiatus, viz. (1) at the Diaeresis of long lines, (2) at a change of speaker, are now admitted by all editors to be unmistakable Plautine usages. Ritschl's argument that the frequency of Elision under the same circumstances is incompatible with Hiatus is now universally abandoned. Without further delay on familiar ground let us push our investigations further a-field, using the clue already indicated, the appearances of Hiatus in post-Plautine poetry. An unmistakable occasion of Hiatus in the classical poetry is the pause between the two clauses of an Antithesis, as in Virgil *G.* i. 3:

qui cultus habendo

sit pecori, | apibus quanta experientia parcis.

Under this heading we may bring the following well-attested lines of Plautus:

*Men.* 882 lumbi sedendo, | oculi spectandó dolent (*P, Ausonius*),

*Pers.* 550 úrbis speciem uídi, | hominum móres perspexi parum (*AP*).

We have a similar pause, accompanied by Hiatus in classical poetry, between other separate clauses of a sentence, e.g. Virgil *Ecl.* ii. 53, *Aen.* i. 405, i. 16:

addam cerea pruna: | honos erit huic quoque pomo,  
et uera incessu patuit dea. | Ille ubi matrem,  
posthabita coluisse Samo; | hic illius arma,

to which we may perhaps add some instances of Hiatus in the penthemimeral Caesura like *Ecl.* x. 13, viii. 41:

illum etiam lauri, | etiam fleuere myricae,  
ut uidi, ut perii, | ut me malus abstulit error.

Similarly in Plautus:

*Stich.* 270 sed éccum Pinacium, éius puerum. | hóc uide (*AP*),  
*Poen.* 1009 quid in hanc uenistis urbem? | aut quid quaeritis? (*AP*),

*Most.* 976 sit profectus péregre, perpotásse assiduo. | ac simul (*AP*:—*avisse* Skutsch),

*Merc.* 259 inscéndó in lembum, | átque ad nauem déuehor (*AP*),

*Poen.* 1113 specié uenusta, | ore atque oculis pérnigris (*AP, Gellius*),

*Men.* 476 prandí, potaui, scórtum accubui, | ábstuli (*AP*),

*Pseud.* 673 híc argentum, | híc amica amánti erili filio (*AP*),

*Pers.* 413 tene sis argentum: | étiam tu argentúm tenes? (*AP*) (*tené sis* is unlikely),

*Poen.* 685 blande hóminem compellábo. | hospes hóspitem salútat: saluom te áduenire gaúdeo (*AP*),

*Pseud.* 890 em illic ego habito. | íntro abi et cenám coque (*AP*),

*Bacch.* 946 milés Menelaust, égo Agamemno, | ídem Ulixes Lártius (*AP*) (*agamennon B*),

*Merc.* 538 Etiám cum uxore nón cubet? Amábo, | an marítust? (*AP*),





*Poen.* 89 Praesénti argento | hómini, si leno ést homo (*AP*,  
*Priscian*),

474 Volátícorum | hóminum? Ita dicó quidem (*AP*).

(*Cf. Most.* 1032, a line for which we have the evidence of the Palatine MSS. only:

Turbáuit? Immo | éxturbauit ómnia.)

Klotz in his account of Early Roman Metre (*Altrömische Metrik*, pp. 108 sqq.) claims that the utterance of any Proper Name, at least any unfamiliar name, would be attended by a pause of this kind and accepts as cases of legitimate Hiatus lines like:

*Bacch.* 354 senéx in Ephesum | íbit aurum arcéssere (*P*, *A*  
*n. l.*; <hinc> íbit *Camerarius*).

He appeals to Horace (*Epod.* v. 100):

et Esquilinaē | alites,

where others find a mere imitation of the Greek Prosodic Hiatus with *-au* (see above).

I find it difficult to believe in a pause of this sort, unless the name were specially emphasized, e.g.:

*Poen.* 443 nam istí quidem hercle orátiōni | Oédipo  
opust cóniectore (*AP*, *Priscian*);

although an equally strongly attested case is:

*Amph.* 275 Néç Iugulae neque Vésperugo néque Vergiliae |  
óccidunt (*P*, *Varro*, *Festus*).

A pause would be natural in some lines with the Vocative of a Proper Name or the like, e.g.:

*Poen.* 1127 O mí ere, salue, | Hánno insperatíssime (*AP*),

*Pers.* 617 Vírgo, | hic homo próbus est. Credo. Nón diu  
apud hunc séruies (*AP*).

It is clear that the admission of this principle that any kind of pause in the utterance of a line justified Hiatus opens the way to a great deal of absurdity. One editor may retain Hiatus in one line, another in another line, by managing to

persuade themselves or their readers that some pause or other would be found in the actor's articulation of the line. Almost any example of Hiatus might be defended by more or less fantastic reasoning of this kind. And yet, if we believe that Hiatus was as much the rule in Saturnian Poetry as it is the exception in classical verse, we must suppose it to have played a considerable part in the Early Drama. I think the balance of probability is in favour of the correctness of well-attested lines like:

- Stich.* 216 Consénui, paene súm fame | emórtuos (*AP*),  
 489 Scis tú med esse | ími subsellí uirum (*AP*),  
*Merc.* 312 Lysímache, auctor sum ut méd amando | énicés  
 (*AP*),  
*Pseud.* 44 Lacrumáns, titubanti | ánuimo, corde et péctore  
 (*AP*),  
 349 I gladium adfer: Quíd opus gladio? Quí hunc  
 occidam | átque me (*AP*),  
*Poen.* 694 Ego íd quaero hospitium, úbi ego curer móllius  
 Quam régi Antiocho | óculi curarí solent (*AP*),  
 1290 Íta replebo, | Átritrate atrítior multo út siet (*AP*),  
*Pseud.* 424 quo in cómmeatum uólui | argentarium  
 profícisci, ibi nunc óppido opsaeptást uia (*AP*),  
*Aul.* 703 nám istos reges céteros  
 memoráre nolo, | hómínium mendicábula (*P.*  
*Nonius*),  
*Stich.* 180 proptérea credo núnc esurio | ácrius (*AP*) (ade-  
 surio *Ritschl*, <eo> a. *Mueller*),  
*Pers.* 556 quárta inuidia, quínta ambitio, séxta | obtrectatio  
 (*AP*),

where in an English printed play a dash would indicate the pause before the bizarre or recherché expression. For I believe that the law of Elision did not press so heavily on the Early Dramatists as on the classical poets, and that the former thought only of avoiding any scansion inconsistent with the actual pronunciation. The actual pronunciation of a word like *voluptatem* was as near *volűptatem* as *volűptatem*. Plautus accordingly allows either scansion, whereas the classical poets



Follow the law of 'length by position' and scan only *volūptatem*. Similarly the actual pronunciation of *Vergiliae occidunt* was probably as near *Vergiliaē occidunt* as *Vergili(ae) occidunt*, and Plautus accordingly tolerates Prosodic Hiatus in such a phrase along with Elision. Where a phrase had one and only one pronunciation in current utterance, Plautus allows (in his dialogue metres, at least) only the scansion that corresponds to this. Thus while he admits *volūptatem*, *volō*, he recognises only *volūptas-mea*, *volō-scire*. He similarly restricts himself to Hiatus in the phrase *flagitium-hominis*, clearly because that scansion was postulated by current pronunciation, while he allows Elision or Hiatus in *intro-ibo*, *circum-imus* and the like. Spelling often indicates to us the course taken by Latin Pronunciation with regard to Elision and Hiatus. We find Elision in *anim(um)adverto*, *magn(o)opere*, *tant(o)opere*, *circitor*, but Prosodic Hiatus in *circu(m)it*, *factu(m)iri*, etc. The pun on *domum-itionem* and *Domitium* (Auct. Herenn. iii. 21) indicates Elision; so does the spelling *domusio* (for *domi-usio*, 'home use,' Petron.). Latin pronunciation thus appears to have recognized now Elision, now Prosodic Hiatus with long vowels or syllables in *-m*, while short vowels are invariably elided, e.g. *suav(e)olens*, *sesqu(i)opus*, *sem(i)esus* (on *triennium* etc. see Brugmann *Grundriss*). We are accordingly prepared to find a corresponding variety of treatment in Plautine versification. But whether we can or should hope to determine in each case the conditions of Hiatus and of Elision is a matter of doubt. Cicero's words, *qui, ut versum facerent, saepe hiabant*, would rather lead us to regard Hiatus, at least in its less familiar types, as an occasional, irregular licence, resorted to merely through metrical necessity.

Naevius, unless we are to throw undeserved discredit on Cicero's express statement, left *qui* in Hiatus (not Prosodic Hiatus) in the phrase *vos qui*. But this is certainly not the normal treatment of the phrase. It is a licence of which the poet avails himself in this particular line and would inevitably be 'emended' by a modern editor, unless Cicero's authority stood in the way. Unfortunately we cannot attach the same weight to the 'consensus' of *P* and *A* as to an express declara-



tion by an ancient author like Cicero, for it is patent that these two authorities occasionally have fallen into one and the same error. A very common error in texts of Plautus is the 'modernizing' of unfamiliar, archaic forms, the substitution of *ut* for *uti*, *istum*, *illum* for *istunc*, *illunc*, and so on. The scribe of *A* and the scribe of *P*, or some archetype of *P*, have both committed the mistake of 'modernizing' *uti* in *Stich.* 234, *Pers.* 685, &c.:

utí decimam partem Hérculi pollúceam,  
crumínam hanc emere aut fácere uti remigrét domum,

*istunc*, *illunc* in *Poen.* 651, 1302, *Pers.* 738 &c.:

atque ístunc e naui éxeuntem onerária,  
iám hercle ego illunc éxeruciandum tótum carnifici dabo,  
nisi égo illunc hominem pérdo, perii, atque óptume

(so *illi* for *illic*, *Cas.* 666, *Truc.* 200, *posse* for *potesse*, *Pseud.* 26, *sit* for *siet*, *Men.* 519). Again the temptation to write only once a word or syllable which was repeated in the original text is one to which a scribe rarely fails to succumb. A phrase like *gerere rem* is likely in, let us say, five MSS. out of a dozen to be miscopied *gererem*, as has happened both to *P* and *A* in *Trin.* 773:

illúm bene gerere rem ét ualere et úuere.

Mistakes like these afford no evidence whatsoever of relationship between MSS. that exhibit them. They belong to the class of 'inevitable' mistakes, into which any scribe at any moment is likely to fall.

*Sies* has become *sis* (*Men.* 110) in *P*, in the MSS. of Servius and in the MSS. of Donatus; and the MS. of Festus, the MSS. of Nonius and the Ambrosian Palimpsest have, each of them, altered *expurigabo* to *expurgabo* in *Cist.* 304:

expúrigabo hercle ómnia ad raucám rauim (*P n. l.*).

Moreover it is quite possible that *A* and *P* perpetuate some errors which had crept into some very early recension of Plautus,

from which they both are ultimately derived, although it is not likely that these errors would be very numerous<sup>1</sup>.

The recent history of Plautine textual criticism has been full of lessons that the 'consensus' of *P* and *A* is not a thing to be lightly set aside. Line after line in which the united testimony of *PA* seemed to be wrong have been found to be correctly transmitted to us. For a long time, for example, lines like:

*Stich.* 175 quia inde iam á pausillo púero ridiculús fui,

were 'emended' by editors, until Prof. Skutsch made the discovery that final -*ě* of *inde*, *nempe*, &c., was suppressed before an initial consonant by Plautus in the same way as the final -*e* of *atque* (*ac*), *neque* (*nec*), *neve* (*neu*), *sive* (*seu*) was suppressed

<sup>1</sup> The theory that *A* and *P* represent two rival ancient recensions of Plautus, two entirely different streams of tradition, has been of late years somewhat modified on the strength of passages like *Pseud.* 392. One version of this passage, the version preserved in *P*, was:

*ex multis, exquire ex illis únun qui certús siet.*

Another version was:

*ex multis, ex illis paucis únun qui certúst cedo.*

In *A* we find a curious jumble of these two versions:

*ex multis atque exquire ex illis unum qui certúst cedo,*

which has apparently arisen from the intrusion into the second version of the interlinear (or marginal) variant: *al.* 'exquire ex illis'. It has, I think, been too readily assumed that such 'mixed' readings in *A* (and in *P*) imply direct derivation of the two texts from one and the same archetype. This archetype was, according to Prof. Leo, an edition of Plautus made in the time of Valerius Probus, with the help of a copy (or copies) found by that

scholar in the provinces (see Leo *Plautinische Forschungen*), and was full of marginal variants. The difference between the *A*-text and the *P*-text has been explained as the result of their editors' choice now of the reading of the text, now of the marginal variant. It seems to me that passages like the line of the *Pseudolus* just quoted are quite as naturally explained by the supposition that there were all along two rival versions of Plautus, and that the reading of the one version was frequently entered as a variant in the margin of the other. If we consider the great differences between *A* and *P*, not merely in readings, but also in such matters as the disposition of the *Cantica* (e.g. *Pseud.* 1329 sqq.), we shall, I think, prefer the old theory of two different editions which had in many passages been assimilated through the adoption by one of the reading of the other, to the new theory of two copies of the same edition which in course of time had come to exhibit points of dissimilarity. The question however of the relationship of *A* to *P* is too large to be discussed here.



in classical Latin (cf. *proin(de)*, *dein(de)*). The same scholar has cleverly vindicated another apparent case of 'consensus' in error, viz.:

*Rud.* 538 Qui? Quia | auderem tecum in nauem ascendere, by shewing that *audeo* has the O. Lat. pronunciation *avideo*, conformably with its derivation from *avidus*. In reading the list, which I now furnish, of the remaining 'versus hiantes' supported by the 'consensus' of *PA*, it must be remembered that there are four possibilities for each instance: (1) the text may be erroneous, the error belonging either to the ancient 'accepted text' of Plautus, or (2) having been inserted separately by the scribe of *A* and the scribe of *P* or of some archetype of *P*, (3) the text may be correct but the hiatus may be apparent and not real, (4) the hiatus may be legitimate.

*Bacch.* 558 nequám | hominis ego páruí pendo grátiam (? *nequám-homo*, a word-group like *flagitiúm-hominis*),

530 réddidi patrí | omne aurum. núnc ego illam mé uelim (*om. ego A*; *reddidit* or *reddidit A*),

*Cas.* 126 post áutem ruri, nísi tu acervom | éderis (perhaps *acervom*, 4 syll.),

564 hominém | amatorem ullum ád forum procéder—  
(? *hominém-amatorem*, a word-group),

1004 MYRRHINA. cénseo | ecástor ueniam hanc dár—  
dam. CLEOSTRATA. Faciam | út iubes (perhaps *dandam*, *Cleostrata*. CLEOSTRATA *Faciam*),

*Epid.* 214 óbuiam ornatae óccurrebant súis quaeque | am—  
toribus (perhaps *quaequae am.*),

*Men.* 223 nám parasitus ócto | hominum múnus facile fú—  
gitur (so also Nonius) (<*unus*> *munus* Mueller—),

1151 quóniam haec euenérunt, frater, nóstra | ex se—  
téntia,

*Mil.* 4 praestríngat oculorum áciem | in acie hóstibus,

604 quíppe | hi si résciure inimíci consiliúm tu—  
(*om. hi P*: perhaps *quippe qui*),

1136 una éxeuntis uídeo | hinc e próximo (*uid. e.*  
*Acidalius: hinc <huc> Mueller*),



- Pers.* 262 nám hoc argentum | álibi abutar: bóues, quos  
emerem, nón erant (*abutar al. Guyet. Perhaps  
aliubi ab.*),
- Poen.* 1130 GIDD. cognóscin Giddenénem, | ancillám tuam?  
(perhaps <me> anc.),
- 862 Quid agis? Facio quód manifesti móechi | hau  
fermé solent (*moechi <hic> Bothe*),
- 969 cretást profecto | hórum | hominum orátio (per-  
haps *cretast*, <*cretast*>),
- 328 námque edepol lucrúm | amare nállum amatorem  
áddecet,
- 1295 própemodum | hoc ópsonare prándium poteró  
mihi,
- 1246 quoqué modo | huius filias apud uós habeatis  
séruas (the normal scansion is *apud uos*),
- 1272 cur número | estis mórtui hoc exémplo ut pin-  
gerétis? (perhaps *cur*, <*cur*>),
- 982 adíbo | hosce atque áppellabo Púnice (perhaps  
*adibon*),
- 1327 siquid lenoni | óbtigit magní mali (siquidem *P*;  
siquidem quid *Camerarius*),
- 448 me oboédientem | ésse seruo líberum (ob. me  
*Bothe*),
- 782 idque ín istoc adeo | aúrum inest marsúppio,
- 1051 patrítus ergo | hóspes Antidamás fuit (*patri tuus*  
ut vid. *P*; perhaps *erigo*, the old form of the  
conjunction),
- Pseud.* 151 nempe ita animati | éstis uos: uincítis duritia hoc  
átque me (*uin. hoc dur. ergo a. m. P*),
- 443 ὦ Ζεῦ, quam pauci | éstis homines cómmodi  
(perhaps ὦ Ζεῦ, <*Zeû*>),
- 897 patér Calidori, | ópere edixit máxumo (*fecit P*),
- 410 erum éccum uideo | húc Simonem uná simul,
- 153 huc ádhibete auris quae égo loquar, plagígera  
genera | hóminum (*plagigerula Bothe*),
- Stich.* 171 nunc sí ridiculum | hóminem quaerat quispiam  
(? *ridiculũm-hominem*, a word-group like *fla-  
gitiũm-hominis*),

- 235 ecástor auctiónem | haud magní preti,  
 477 Nescío quid uero | hábeo in mundo. Í modo,  
 344 iámdudum | ego ístum patior dicere iniusté mihi  
 (perhaps *iamdudumne*),  
 384 iám non facio | aúctionem: mi óbtigit heréditas  
 (perhaps *iam*, <*iam*>),  
 374 árgenti | auríque aduexit nímium. Nimis factúm  
 bene (adv. multum *P*),  
*Trin.* 539 nam fúlguritae súnť alternae | árbores (alternas,  
 alternis *edd.*),  
 540 sués moriuntur ángina | acérrume (*macerrumae*  
 Onions).

To these may be added this instance of 'consensus' of *P* with a Grammarian in a Trochaic Septenarius:

- Pseud.* 762 áni sinistra (-tera?), auspicio liquido atque ex  
 sententia (*P*, *Nonius*).

The following instances look suspiciously like errors inherited both by *P* and by *A* from a common original, the 'received' text of Plautus in the Early Empire:

- Poen.* 453 sqq. (the 'leno' is relating his experiences)  
 sex ímmolaui | ágnos, nec potuí tamen  
 propítiam Venerem fácere uti | essét mihi. (ut *A*)  
 quoniám litare néqueo, abii illim ílico (abi *AP*)  
 irátus, uotui | éxta prosicárier,

- Stich.* 459 sqq. (the parasite's relation)  
 auspicio | hodie | óptumo exiui foras:  
 mustéla murem | ábstulit praetér pedes;  
 cum stréna | obscaeuáuit; spectatum hóc mihist.

- Poen.* 485 sqq. (the soldier's relation)  
 tam crébri ad terram | áccidebant quám pira.  
 ut quisque acciderat, éum necabam | ílico  
 per cérébrum pinna suá sibi quasi túrturem;

but it is certainly remarkable that all three are narrative passages of the same type.

Quintilian's account of tolerable and intolerable Hiatus in prose Oratory<sup>1</sup> can hardly throw much light on the conditions of Hiatus in Plautine verse. Dr Maurenbrecher in his monograph on Hiatus (*Hiatus und Verschleifung im Alten Latein*, Leipzig, 1899), in which he provides us with a full collection of instances, has arranged his lists on the theory that Plautus' acceptance and avoidance of Hiatus depended on the nature of the final syllable left unelided. An examination of these lists will, I think, convince us that Plautus makes no distinction between one final long vowel and another, or between a final long vowel on the one hand and a final syllable ending in *-m* on the other. He leaves *virum* in hiatus as readily as *viro*, and *viro* as readily as *virī*. The theory that final *-m* had a different pronunciation in the time of Plautus and in the time of Cicero cannot stand. No more can Prof. Birt's theory that initial *h* was more resistive of elision in the pronunciation of Plautus' time; for Plautus scans *quī amat* just as readily as *quī homo*. More plausible is the view that the old Ablative suffix in *-d* was occasionally used by Plautus, as he occasionally uses the old Subjunctive *siet*, the old Verb-form *iurigo*, etc. Naevius certainly employs this Ablative-ending in his Saturnian poem:

noctu Troiad exhibant capitibus opertis,

where the MSS. shew *Troia de ex*, and Plautus makes free use of the monosyllabic Ablatives (and Accusatives) *med*, *ted*. Ritschl made no scruple of adding *-d* to any Ablative in Plautus that stood in Hiatus, e.g. *Men.* 882, *Amph.* 208 (quoted above):

lumbī sedendo, ōculi spectandō dolent.

redūcturum, abiturós agro Argífuos, pacem atque ótium.

Now however that the strength and weakness of the MSS. has been better gauged, it is felt to be unlikely that no clear trace

<sup>1</sup> Tum vocalium concursus, qui cum accidit, hiat et intersistit et quasi laborat oratio. Pessime longae, quae easdem inter se litteras committunt, sonabunt. Praecipuus tamen erit hiatus earum, quae cavo aut patulo maxime ore efferuntur; e planior littera est, i angustior est, ideoque ob-

scurius in his vitium. Minus peccabit qui longis breves subiciet et adhuc qui praeponet longae brevem, minima est in duabus brevibus offensio. Atque cum aliae subiunguntur aliis, proinde asperiores erunt, prout oris habitu simili aut diverso pronuntiabuntur (*Inst.* ix. iv. 33).



of this old form should appear in the MSS. if Plautus had actually used it. Like the 1 Decl. Gen. Sing. ending *-as*, the by-forms *homōnem* etc. (beside *homīnem* etc.), *quamde* (beside *quam*), *hōce die* (beside *hodie*), it appears to have been obsolete in the current usage of Plautus' time and would be as unsuitable for his Comedies as, let us say, the old-fashioned disyllabic pronunciation of the ending *-tion* would be in an English Comedy to-day. On the other hand the early 1 Decl. Genitive ending *-aī*, and the old Pronominal Dative *quōī* (*cuiī*) seem still to have lingered on, like *utī* beside *ut*, Inf. *-arier*, etc., beside *-ari*, etc., and should often be restored to lines which have the appearance of Hiatus. Of course archaisms that were not used by Plautus may appear in post-Plautine prologues (e.g. *anticus* in the prologue to the *Casina*, vv. 7, 13), and un-Plautine Hiatus may find a place there too (vv. 47—48, 79 ?), just as it appears in the Acrostic Arguments. An editor should therefore not be too hasty in ruling out Hiatus in a line of a Prologue (e.g. *Aul.* 5). In the plays themselves he must balance the probability of the Hiatus being genuine against the probability of the reading being corrupt. Where there is 'consensus' of *PA* or of *P* with an ancient Grammarian the latter probability will be greatly reduced. His chief liability to error will be in those abnormal cases of Hiatus like the *uos quī | accolitis* of Naevius (cited by Cicero), which occur in parts for which we have no other evidence than the Palatine MSS. The temptation to 'emend' these is invincible. The only safe criterion of such Hiatus will be the presence of metrical exigency, the necessity of getting certain words in a certain order into a line. Where such necessity plainly exists and plainly calls for Hiatus of an abnormal type, the editor should acquiesce in the traditional version of the line, even though he can produce no parallel example.

But to close our ears to Cicero's unimpeachable testimony to the prevalence of Hiatus in Early Poetry is surely irrational, especially when his testimony is confirmed by what we know of Saturnian Verse and of the phonetic characteristics of the Latin language. The rude versification of plebeian epitaphs and the like shews us that ordinary, unconventional diction,

when not trammelled by artificial laws of Metre, acquiesced in Hiatus between words, just as literary diction itself acquiesced in Hiatus between the components of Word-groups or Compounds like *quā-m-obrem*, *tā-m-etsi*, *pr(a)ēhendo*, *dēhortor*. Hiatus is therefore not alien to the nature of the Latin language; and this being the case, we should expect to find it playing a part in the early Drama, whose verses deliberately reproduce the actual form of everyday utterance. The reaction begun by Ritschl against the old indiscriminate admission of Hiatus in Plautus' verses was a good thing, but it has been carried too far. It is contrary to all laws of textual criticism when editors continue to exercise their ingenuity in 'emending' lines whose text rests on the firmest possible basis of evidence, and treat the united testimony of the Palatine MSS., the Ambrosian Palimpsest and the citation by ancient Grammarians in as cavalier a fashion as the single testimony of one of these three witnesses. Prof. Leo has shewn his disgust at this uncalled-for patching and tinkering of Plautus' lines by printing in his edition of the plays almost every 'versus hians' in the form in which the MSS. present it. His theory is that, although nine-tenths of these instances are un-Plautine, still the lines may have had this form in the earliest collected edition of the plays, since the belief was current in the Early Empire that Hiatus was a feature of the older poetry. This treatment of the MSS. seems to me to err in the other direction, in exaggerating the authority of the Palatine MSS. Their 'consensus' does not give us the reading of an ancient recension; far from it. It gives us merely the reading of a single Carolingian codex, a codex abounding in the transpositions, omissions and misguided corrections that characterize the work of every mediaeval scribe. We cannot treat apparently erroneous readings of this authority with the same respect as we treat the readings of an ancient authority like the Ambrosian Palimpsest. Infinitely greater respect is due to the readings supported by the 'consensus' of *P* and *A*.

W. M. LINDSAY.



INSIGNIS nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adulescentulis adsignant: ceteris robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis adgregantur, nec rubor inter comites adspici.

Tacitus is here describing the admission of the young German to public life, and the words I quote are usually so rendered as to cover only one method of entry, enrolment in the comitatus. 'High birth or family services win the favour of a Princeps: the young men are grouped with older members of the comitatus and are not ashamed to be *comites*.' But (1) *dignationem adsignant* cannot conceivably mean 'win the favour of': the passages quoted in various commentaries come nowhere near that sense. And (2) the idea of the young man being ashamed comes oddly after the allusion to *comites robustiores ac iam pridem probati*. Lipsius took the words differently: he translated *dignationem adsignant* in the natural sense 'assign the rank' and read *ceteri*: that is, "high birth etc. make a boy a *princeps* at once; the others are ranked with (or under?) older men as *comites*." On this view the passage refers to two ways of entering life, as a *princeps* or as a *comes*. The same general sense can be obtained equally well without emendation by putting a full stop before *Nec*. "Young men of birth become *principes* at once and rank straightway with older and experienced leaders. Nor on the other hand is enrolment as *comes* despised." This, I think, gives a point to *ceteris robustioribus* etc. which is totally lacking in other renderings: it avoids any change of the text and takes *dignationem adsignant* in its natural sense. *Nec rubor*, then, commences the account of the comitatus which follows in the next few lines and which I have not quoted at the head of this note.

F. HAVERFIELD.



πρῶτον μὲν εἴ τινας δεῖ τοιαύτας εἶναι μονάδας ὑπολαμβάνειν ἀληθῶς οὐσας· εἶτα πῶς αὐτάς, μίαν ἑκάστην οὖσαν ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ μήτε γένεσιν μήτε ὄλεθρον προσδεχομένην, ὅμως εἶναι βεβαιότατα μίαν ταύτην· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς γιγνομένοις αὐτὴ καὶ ἀπείροις εἴτε διεσπασμένην καὶ πολλὰ γεγонуῖαν θετέον, εἴθ' ὅλην αὐτὴν αὐτῆς χωρὶς, ὃ δὴ πάντων ἀδυνατότατον φαίνεται ἂν, ταῦτόν καὶ ἐν ἅμα ἐν ἐνὶ τε καὶ πολλοῖς γίγνεσθαι.

Concerning the foregoing passage there is, I believe, no dispute about the meaning of the words *πρῶτον μὲν...ἀληθῶς οὐσας*, nor of the words *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο...γίγνεσθαι*. The first sentence raises the question 'are there eternally existing Ideas or not?': the last, 'what is the relation of these Ideas to *γιγνόμενα*?' The intermediate words are the field on which ἢ πολλὰ μετὰ διαιρέσεως ἀμφισβήτησις γίγνεται: and the dispute about the significance of the words themselves is further complicated by a doubt which has been raised whether in the whole passage three problems are stated, or only two.

Badham in his two editions of the dialogue propounds two distinct views: (1) he understands *ὅμως* to mean 'notwithstanding what is about to be said in the following sentence'; and he proceeds, 'There are but two [questions]. The first question is, whether these monads have a real being; the second is, how we can conceive that they subsist unchangeably as monads, and yet in the world of sense they must be regarded as either distributed into as many parts as there are individuals to partake of them, or as remaining as wholes in each individual, so that each monad is at once one in each, and again one in many.' In his second edition Badham abandons the view that there are two questions only, and emends the text

by inserting *μή* before *εἶναι*, thus making the three questions (1) do the monads exist? (2) are they pluralised in *γιννόμενα*? (3) if so, how is the pluralisation to be understood?

Jackson (*Journal of Philology* xxv 292) makes only two questions, as follows: (1) Do the monads exist? (2) How do they retain their unity in plurality? and he adds 'the participial clause *μίαν ἐκάστην κτλ* describes the monads as essentially units, and the words *ὁμῶς εἶναι κτλ* bring this their characteristic into contrast with the pluralisation which somehow or other they must undergo in particular things.'

Bury, assuming three questions, accepts Stallbaum's statement of the second: 'deinde, quomodo unaquaeque ab ortu et interitu immunis esse intelligatur': but he brackets *ὁμῶς*, justly remarking that Stallbaum does not account for it.

Other views have also been taken, which I do not think it necessary to discuss here.

Of the interpretations cited above, Badham's amended version seems to me far and away the best. Every reading of the passage more strongly convinces me that it is utterly impossible but that *πρῶτον μὲν, εἶτα, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο*, introduce three distinct and coordinate questions. And Badham's explanation gives us three perfectly reasonable questions: are there monads? are the monads pluralised? how are they pluralised? Dr Jackson indeed objects to it on the ground that (1) 'it is improbable that *μή* has dropped out; (2) the facts that the phrase *πῶς αὖ ταύτας κτλ* in the sentence which begins with *εἶτα* is incomplete without the word *θετέον* derived from the sentence which begins with *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ'*, and that the phrase *ἐν τοῖς γιννόμενοις αὖ κτλ* in the sentence which begins with *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ'* is incomplete without the words *πῶς ταύτας κτλ* derived from the sentence which begins with *εἶτα*, seem to show that the two sentences are indissolubly connected.'

I fail to find much cogency in these objections. As to the omission of *μή*, it is a fact that a negative does sometimes drop out without much apparent reason: e.g. *Phaedo* 105 A, where *οὐκ* has indubitably fallen out, without, I think, much countenance from Cobet and his canons. Nor can I regard Dr Jackson's



second argument as conclusive: for in the second sentence it is as easy to supply δεῖ from the first sentence as θετέον from the third; while in the third I see no need of any supplement.

I should thus, if μὴ were in the MSS., be content to accept Badham's interpretation. But μὴ is not in the MSS.: and this induces one to examine a little closer. Two points in particular suggest themselves: (1) although the second of Badham's questions is quite reasonable, it is hardly necessary; for it is implied in the third: (2) is μὴ εἶναι βεβαιότατα μίαν ταύτην exactly the phrase in which we should expect Plato to couch the question 'are the monads pluralised'? He might put it so; and if the MSS. put it so, I should not cavil; but they do not.

I venture to suggest yet another interpretation which, without any alteration of the text, appears to me to give a satisfactory sense. The words εἴτα...μίαν ταύτην I take to mean 'How can it be that these monads, each being individually self-identical and eternal, are yet one single unity?' in other words what is the relation of the special Ideas to the supreme Idea—in the language of the *Republic*, of the αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον to the αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστιν ἀγαθόν, or in that of the *Timaeus*, of the νοητὰ ζῶα to the αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστι ζῶον? This is one of the fundamental questions of Platonism; a question fully as important and fully as difficult as the relation between ideas and γιγνώμενα. And indeed in any statement of the problems of ἐν καὶ πολλά found in a dialogue representing the mature Platonism it would surely be strange were this omitted. For if the Ideas are substantial entities, it is inevitable that we ask how they are related to the supreme Idea, whence, according both to the *Republic* and the *Timaeus*, their existence is derived.

Accordingly I find in the passage these three questions:

1) Are there Ideas at all? (2) how are αἱ πολλαὶ ἰδέαι comprehended in the universal μονάς? (3) how is μία ἐκάστη ἰδέα pluralised in the γιγνώμενα καὶ ἄπειρα?

R. D. ARCHER-HIND.



## ALEXANDRIAN EVIDENCE FOR THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GOSPELS.

RECENT<sup>1</sup> discoveries in Asia Minor and Egypt with the consequent discussion and conclusions to which they have given rise, have revived the interest in various historical questions closely connected with the credibility of the historical books of the New Testament. The new material provided now for our study encourages the hope that certainty, or at least decisive probability, may before long be attained; and it is not surprising that problems, relegated by the more wide-visioned scholar to the limbo of insoluble intricacies craving new determinants, have suddenly been resumed, and not merely by specialists.

I propose in this paper to examine such evidence of importance as there is, bearing upon the question of the chronology of the chief events in the life of the Christ, Jesus. This evidence consists of (*a*) certain statements in the canonical Gospels, (*b*) certain datings preserved in the Fathers, (*c*) the records of census-lists recently discovered, dates of Josephus and the like.

I shall deal first and chiefly with the dates of the Fathers, for two reasons. The Gospel statements are so scanty that little can be made of them; the variety of interpretations put upon them by modern scholars, coupled with the disagreement of the Fathers, suggests if it does not prove that those statements are better interpreted from outside than by rigorous

<sup>1</sup> The facts may be seen in *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* vol. II. ed. F. G. Kenyon 1898; W. M. Ramsay *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* Hodder and Stoughton 1898, where also

will be found a sufficient discussion of questions that are affected by those facts. More will be found in *The Expositor*, a review of Ramsay in the *Manchester Guardian*, &c.

cross-examination of the text. The other reason is that, as I hope to shew, the most valuable evidence of the Fathers has been misunderstood—owing to an ignorance that would be strange, if it were not that theologians have rarely been experts in the chronology of the Greeks. Hence we find Mr C. H. Turner<sup>1</sup> lightly remarking that ‘the patristic evidence (sc. for the Month and Day of the Nativity), interesting in itself, though too voluminous for discussion here, leads to no real results.’

The earliest evidence, as Mr Turner says, is that of Clement of Alexandria. In a passage of some length, he makes certain statements as embodying his own belief, and mentions certain calculations of dates made by scholars, and certain made by the Basileidian Gnostics. To dismiss these as ‘worth nothing at all,’ as Mr Turner does, seems somewhat rash: but the serious point is this. He, like others<sup>2</sup>, interprets the dates Clement gives as dates in the stationary Alexandrian year introduced by Augustus instead of in the shifting Egyptian year. Yet Unger<sup>3</sup> might have told him that Censorinus 40 years later than Clement uses the Egyptian year alone; it is only when we get to Epiphanius, 200 years after Clement, that we find the Augustan year alone known<sup>4</sup>. This lays the burden of proof on those who read Clement’s dates as dates of the Augustan calendar. Is there anything in his dates to suggest that he thus differed from the habitual practice of his age? Nothing, and so far from this, his dates become con-

<sup>1</sup> Hastings’ *Dict. of Bible* i. p. 405 col. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Schaff, e.g., and J. B. McClellan *The New Testament* vol. i. p. 391. But in *Journal of Class. and Sacred Philology* vol. i. Cambridge, 1854, pp. 327 sqq. they are correctly interpreted by H. Browne, to whose paper my attention was called by Dr H. Jackson after this was written. H. Browne sets out from Clement’s statement of intervals and totals, and makes most valuable suggestions and corrections; but he has not verified or checked these by calculating the true astro-

nomical dates, so that some of his dates are quite untenable, e.g. his date for the Pasrover of 70 or 71 A.D. He gives a further reason for thinking that Clement used ‘the vague year of the Astronomical Canon or *Æra* of Nabonassor, that being the instrument commonly used in his age and country,’ in that Clement sets out with the Canon (see below, p. 238, note 8).

<sup>3</sup> Müller’s *Handb. d. klass. Alt.-Wiss.* i. p. 778.

<sup>4</sup> However Anatolius of Laodicea c. 300 A.D. uses the Alexandrine year; see *Guardian*, Sept. 6, 1899.



sistent, and intelligible, not 'worth nothing at all,' as soon as we thus interpret them rightly.

But before we come to them, we shall do well to consider some other statements of his, in regard to which we have the means to check his dates.

The whole passage will be found in the *Stromateis* i. 21, §§ 144—6, R. Klotz, *Leipzig*, 1831 (P. 405—9 Potter; 146—7 Sylburg), but it may be well to quote such sentences as are either so significant that it may be better for the reader to see them himself or have received emendation at the hands of scholars in recent years. Τινὲς μέντοι τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν βασιλέων οὕτως ἀναγράφουσι, Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ ἔτη γ' μῆνας δ' ἡμέρας σ', μεθ' ὃν Αὐγουστος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη μς' μῆνας δ' ἡμέραν μίαν, ἔπειτα Τιβερίος ἔτη κς' μῆνας σ' ἡμέρας ιθ', ὃν διαδέχεται Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἔτη τρία μῆνας ι' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, τοῦτον Κλαύδιος ἔτη ιγ' μῆνας η' ἡμέρας κη', Νέρων ἔτη ιγ' μῆνας ὀκτώ ἡμέρας κη', Γάλβας μῆνας ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας σ', Ὅθων μῆνας ε' ἡμέραν α', Οὐιτέλλιος μῆνας ἑπτὰ ἡμέραν α', Οὐεσπεσιανὸς ἔτη ια' μῆνας ια' ἡμέρας κβ', Τίτος ἔτη β' μῆνας β', Δομιτιανὸς ἔτη ιε' μῆνας η' ἡμέρας ε', Νέρβας ἔτος α' μῆνας δ' ἡμέρας ι', Τραϊανὸς ἔτη ιθ' μῆνας ζ' ἡμέρας ιε', Ἀδριανὸς ἔτη κ' μῆνας ι' ἡμέρας κη', Ἀντωνίνος ἔτη κβ' μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ζ', Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος ἔτη ιθ' ἡμέρας ια', Κόμοδος ἔτη ιβ' μῆνας θ' ἡμέρας ιδ'. Ἀπὸ Ἰουλίου τοίνυν Καίσαρος ἕως Κομόδου τελευτῆς γίνονται ἔτη σλς' μῆνες σ'. Συναγεται δὲ πάντα τὰ ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου τοῦ κτίσαντος Ῥώμην ἕως Κομόδου τελευτῆς ἔτη ληγ' μῆνες σ'. Ἐγεννήθη δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκέλευσαν ἀπογραφὰς γενέσθαι ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου... Ἰε' οὖν ἔτη Τιβερίου καὶ ιε' Αὐγούστου, οὕτω πληροῦται τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἕως οὗ ἔπαθεν. Ἀφ' οὗ δ' ἔπαθεν ἕως τῆς καταστροφῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ γίνονται ἔτη μβ' μῆνες γ'. Καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς καταστροφῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἕως Κομόδου τελευτῆς ἔτη ρκα' μῆνες ι'

<sup>1</sup> MS. πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ οὖν ἔτει Τιβερίου καὶ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ emendavit H. Browne *loc. cit.* p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> So H. Browne *loc. cit.* p. 328 for ρκη'.....γ'. He thus makes the sum right: 30<sup>v</sup> + 42<sup>v</sup> 3<sup>m</sup> + 121<sup>v</sup> 10<sup>m</sup> 13<sup>d</sup> = 194<sup>v</sup>

1<sup>m</sup> 13<sup>d</sup>. This gives the capture of Jerusalem in 71 A.D. and makes Clement identify by an oversight the time of Baptism and Passion, and neglect even the acceptable year he speaks of, unless the three months represent it.



ἡμέραι ιγ'. Γίνονται οὖν ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Κύριος ἐγεννήθη ἔως Κομόδου τελευτῆς τὰ πάντ' ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἐννεήκοντα τέσσαρα μὴν εἰς ἡμέραι ιγ'. Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ περιεργότερον τῇ γενέσει τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔτος ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν προστιθέντες, ἣν φασιν ἔτους κη' Αὐγούστου ἐν πέμπτῃ Παχῶν καὶ εἰκάδι. Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐορτάζουσι προδιανυκτερεύοντες ἀναγνώσεσι. Φασὶ δ' εἶναι τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην τοῦ Τυβὶ μηνός, τινὲς δ' αὐτὴν ἐνδεκάτην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός. Τό τε πάθος αὐτοῦ ἀκριβολογούμενοι φέρουσιν οἱ μὲν τινες τῷ ἑκαταίδεκατῳ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Φαμενώθ κέ, οἱ δὲ Φαρμουθὶ κέ· ἄλλοι δὲ Φαρμουθὶ ιθ' πεπονθέναι τὸν Σωτῆρα λέγουσιν. Ναὶ μὴν τινες αὐτῶν φασὶ Φαρμουθὶ γεγενῆσθαι κδ' ἢ κέ. Ἔτι δὲ κακεῖνα τῇ χρονογραφίᾳ προσαποδοτέον, τὰς ἡμέρας λέγω ἃς αἰνίττεται Δανιὴλ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρημώσεως Ἱερουσαλήμ<sup>1</sup>, τὰ Οὐεσπεσιανοῦ ἔτη ζ' μῆνας ια'<sup>2</sup>... Αὗται οὖν αἱ β' τ' ἡμέραι γίνονται ἔτη σ' μῆνες δ', ὧν τὸ ἥμισυ κατέσχε Νέρων βασιλεύων, καὶ ἐγένετο ἥμισυ ἐβδομάδος· τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ Οὐεσπεσιανὸς σὺν Ὁθωνί καὶ Γάλβᾳ καὶ Οὐιτελλίφ<sup>3</sup>. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγει Δανιήλ· "μακάριος ὁ φθάσας εἰς ἡμέρας αἰτέ". μέχρι γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ πόλεμος ἦν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο... ἄλλοι δὲ μέχρι τῆς Κομόδου τελευτῆς ἀριθμήσαντες ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου καὶ Μωϋσέως ἔτη ἔφησαν γίνεσθαι βωμβ', οἱ δὲ βλκα'<sup>4</sup>.

## I. CLEMENT'S DATES FOR THE EMPERORS.

### § 1. *The Long List.*

If we take first Clement's long list of the emperors, in which he gives the years, months and days of their reigns, we find it difficult to arrive securely at a conception of his method

<sup>1</sup> H. Browne places a full stop here and the mark of a lacuna and supplies e.g. <εὐρίσκομεν οὖν μετὰ τὴν καταστροφὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ>.

<sup>2</sup> So Lowth and Browne for ζ'.

<sup>3</sup> Another lacuna: <And then the Temple was destroyed by fire, but the

siege still continued until the city was taken.> H. Browne *loc. cit.* p. 336.

<sup>4</sup> Bywater *Journal of Philology* iv. 206 reads βωμβ' and βλκα'. (For these references to the work of Browne and Professor Bywater I am indebted to the kindness of Dr Henry Jackson.)

of reckoning. The text is demonstrably corrupt in places, and this makes it impossible to do more than eliminate certain ways of reckoning which we might have guessed him to be using. Thus he cannot be reckoning with Roman months and days; for while for Commodus' reign he would in that case not be including the extremities, in the case of Antoninus, Tiberius and Nerva he does do so. The case of Tiberius shews that the inconsistency is not due to a consideration of leap year.

Nor can he be using the Egyptian<sup>1</sup> reckoning without omitting the five *ἐπαγόμεναι* as outside any month, *unless he reckons backwards when the number of months approaches the full year*: the length given to the reigns of Gaius and of Commodus proves it.

Nor again can he be using a reckoning by Roman months and days, adjusting the day to Egyptian, which began about 3 a.m.: besides its inconsistency there is the further obstacle to this, that while the datings of Domitian and Nerva prove that he cannot be reckoning inclusively, Augustus, Tiberius and Gaius will not be right by exclusive reckoning—no adjustment to the Egyptian day will explain these for Roman reckoning<sup>2</sup>.

Lastly it is clear that Clement did not use Egyptian pure and simple, that is, he did not take Egyptian dates as they would have been in the year the event happened: if he uses Egyptian, it is the Egyptian of the time when he wrote. Otherwise we should find one extra day appearing in every four years beyond what Roman reckoning shews. But Commodus' case shews that this is not so.

But it seems impossible to determine whether (i) he used the Alexandrian—but this, as will be seen, perhaps disagrees with his short list: or (ii) uses the Egyptian, counting the five *ἐπαγόμεναι* among the days, but reckoning backwards, if the months almost amount to a full year: or (iii) uses the Egyptian omitting the *ἐπαγόμεναι*—and here again whether he reckons backwards on occasion or not. Against this last theory

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian months are, of course, all 30 days in length: the remaining 5 days are *ἐπαγόμεναι*.

<sup>2</sup> It is noticeable that Clement un-

like later writers makes no reference to any other time-notation than the Egyptian (or Alexandrian).



is the dating of Trajan however, but as the date of his death is not certain, this is perhaps not conclusive. The case of Nerva proves that the reckoning forward at any rate is never inclusive.

These methods will generally lead to identical results—in the following table I have given the second reckoning in the text, noting variations in the margin.

Had the third method been employed, we might with interest have determined when the Egyptian year according to Clement had its *ἐπαγόμεναι*. Adrian's case would have shewn it was between 10 August and 10 July; Vespasian's between 1 July and 23 June. This so nearly agrees with what we know to have been the case about Clement's time, that it is possible that if we had a sound text we should find this to be the method Clement actually employed. The first year in which 1 Thoth was 1 July was 211 A.D. On the other hand the text as I have emended it for Nero's reign to Vespasian's if correct would shew that Clement reckoned backwards, both for Galba and for Vitellius. But in so much uncertainty, with corrupt readings necessitating constant emendation, it seemed best not to press the evidence, but leave the method Clement employed undetermined.

|          |                             |                                 |   |
|----------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Julius   | 9 November 48               | to 15 March 44                  | y. m. d.<br>= 3. 4. 6   |
| Augustus | 28/9 <sup>1</sup> August 30 | to 29 August 14                 | = 43 <sup>2</sup> . 0. 1  |
| Tiberius | 29 August 14                | to 16 March 37                  | = 22 <sup>3</sup> . 6. 19   |
| Gaius    | 16 March 37                 | to 23/4 <sup>1</sup> January 41 | = 3. 10. 8 <sup>24</sup> Jany. simply by<br>backward inclu-<br>sive reckoning |
| Claudius | 23/4 January 41             | to 23 October 54                | = 13. 8. 28   |
| Nero     | 23 October 54               | to 19 January 68                | = 13. 2 <sup>4</sup> . 23   |

<sup>1</sup> As I suppose the Egyptian day is in question, ending about 3 a.m. on the 29th.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 46<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>m</sup> 1<sup>d</sup>, but Clement's other list, of years only in the reigns, gives 43. Ramsay *Was Christ etc.* p. 140 states that in Egypt there is not a trace of any other reckoning of Augustus' reign than from the taking of Alexandria, the first year being considered to begin on 29 August, 30.

This entirely agrees with Clement as emended. The 4 months I take to be miscopied after the 43 years from Julius' figures. Cf. perhaps Nero's case below.

<sup>3</sup> So the short list, but the MS. here 26.

<sup>4</sup> Read β' for γ'. This makes the sequence come out correct, but is not at all historically true. I owe this to H. Browne's suggestion that Clement



|           |                 |                                  |                           |   |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Galba     | 19 January 68   | to 27 August 68                  | = y. m. d.<br>= 7. 6      |   |
| Otho      | 27 August 68    | to 26 November 68                | = 3. 1                    |   |
| Vitellius | 26 November 68  | to 1 July 69                     | = 7. 1                    |   |
| Vespasian | 1 July 69       | to 23/4 June 79                  | = 9 <sup>3</sup> . 11. 22 | 24 June simply by backward inclusive reckoning                |
| Titus     | 23/4 June 79    | to 13 September 81               | = 2 <sup>3</sup> . 2. 22  | 21 days if from June 24: 17 days or 16 by Alexandrine or (ii) |
| Domitian  | 13 September 81 | to 18 September 96               | = 15 <sup>4</sup> . 0. 5  |   |
| Nerva     | 18 September 96 | to 26/7 January 98               | = 1. 4. 10                |   |
| Trajan    | 26/7 January 98 | to 10/11 <sup>5</sup> August 117 | = 19. 6 <sup>6</sup> . 16 | 14/15 perhaps by (iii)  |
| Adrian    | 10/1 August 117 | to 10/1 July 138                 | = 20. 10. 28              | 9/10 by Alexandrine   |
| Antoninus | 10/1 July 138   | to 6/7 March 161                 | = 22 <sup>7</sup> . 7. 29 | 25 days by Alexandrine, 23 backwards                          |
| Antoninus | 6/7 March 161   | to 17 March 180                  | = 19. 0. 11               |   |
| Commodus  | 17 March 180    | to 31 December 192               | = 12. 9. 14               |   |

## § 2. *The Short List*<sup>8</sup>.

We must now notice a supposed peculiarity in Clement's short list as I have called it, that is his list of emperors, giving the years only of their reigns. The peculiarity is that (so it has been said<sup>9</sup>) any year is assigned to an emperor, if 1 Thoth falls in his reign. Thus Adrian reigning from 11 August 117 to 10 July 138, is credited with 21 years; Galba reigning from June 68 to January 69 is credited with one year, while Otho is not, nor yet Vitellius, 1 Thoth of 69 falling in Vespasian's reign. This fact in itself would be sufficient to prove that

makes Otho and Vitellius cover one year from August 29th. There is no means of checking the one odd day.

<sup>1</sup> Read γ' for ε'. Cf. Josephus *Jud. Bell.* iv. 9 § 2 = § 499 Naber. H. Browne *loc. cit.* has confused the reigns of Galba and Otho.

<sup>2</sup> The short list has 10 years; read here θ' for α', as H. Browne also suggested *loc. cit.* p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> Reading, after μῆνας β', ἡμέρας κβ'.

<sup>4</sup> Omit μῆνας η'.

<sup>5</sup> It is not certain what day Trajan died.

<sup>6</sup> Reading 5' for ζ', and ε5' for ιε'.

<sup>7</sup> Reading ζ' for γ', and κθ' for ξ'.

<sup>8</sup> 'The Augustan section of the well-known "Astronomical Canon," differing however by the insertion of one year for the reigns of Galba, Otho and Vitellius.' H. Browne.

<sup>9</sup> Whiston's Translation of Josephus 1849, page 406.

Clement is not using the Alexandrine year, but the Egyptian, and more, that he is using the Egyptian in the way previously supposed by us—that is, he takes the Roman dating or the fixed dating of the priest's cycle-year and converts it into the Egyptian of the time when he is writing. For 1 Thoth fell on July 10th for the first time in 175 A.D., so that the length given to Adrian's reign must be calculated by Clement in the way I have indicated.

We could use this to shew when Clement was writing—after 175 A.D. as we have just seen, and before 215 A.D. because 1 Thoth must not be earlier than July 1st, as appears from the length assigned to Vespasian's reign.

Clement's list is as follows: Augustus 43, Tiberius 22, Gaius 4, Claudius 14, Nero 14, Galba<sup>1</sup> 1, Vespasian 10, Titus 3, Domitian 15, Nerva 1, Trajan 19, Adrian 21, Antoninus 23<sup>2</sup>, Antoninus and Commodus together 32. An examination of this list and comparison of it with the dates given on pages 237, 238 will shew that it is doubtful if this supposed peculiarity exists in fact. Trajan should have 20 years not 19, unless indeed the Alexandrine notation is Clement's, so that 1 Thoth falls on 29 August. But then Augustus' reign should contain 44 Thoth New Year's Days,—if we are not to suppose that, the Alexandrine not being introduced till 26 B.C., Clement uses the Egyptian notation for B.C. 30—Nero's 14 years too would then be wrong. To confine ourselves again, therefore, to certain conclusions, we must only say that the short list gives us no clear evidence as to Clement's notation, but that if Trajan's 19 years can be supposed to be a misreading, the list would support the contention that Clement uses the Egyptian year<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It should be pointed out however that if Nero is to be credited with fourteen recurrences of 1 Thoth, Galba like Otho and Vitellius should have none: but this period is too confused for us to argue definitively about it. The Ptolemaean Canon also gives Galba 1 year; see W. Whiston's Trans. of Josephus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> So we must read for the MS. 21. This is shewn to be a correct emenda-

tion by the fact that Clement adds *γίνεται τὰ πάντα ἀπὸ Αὐγούστου ἕως Κομόδου ἑρη σκβ' = 222.*

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to observe that for Clement at any rate this short list disposes of what Mr C. H. Turner (*Hastings' Dict. of Bible* i. p. 403, col. 2, note) calls the general rule of ancient calculations, i.e. that 37 years is not 37 years or something over but 37 years or something less.

## II. THE GOSPEL DATES.

§ 1. *Good Friday, April 7th A.D. 30.*

Let us examine the dates given for Good Friday. If they are interpreted as Egyptian dates, they must be datings either according to the Calendar at the time of the Crucifixion, or at the time perhaps of Basileides<sup>1</sup> (who seems to have worked out many of these calculations) or of Clement himself. We thus should have as possible dates to be considered:

(i) by the Alexandrine reckoning, March 21, April 20, April 14.

(ii) by the Egyptian reckoning—in 26, or 27 A.D., March 9, April 8, April 2; in 28 to 31 A.D., March 8, April 7, April 1; in 32 or 33 A.D., March 7, April 6, March 31.

(iii) in Basileides' day, February 13, March 15, March 9—all hopelessly before the equinox; and by Clement's date, they are worse still: so that this interpretation of the dates may be rejected.

At once two of the datings attract our notice as being a month apart. They may be guessed therefore with certainty to be alternative determinations of the Passover date<sup>2</sup>, one before<sup>3</sup>, one after the equinox—unless they are calculations for different years.

<sup>1</sup> For the date of Basileides (given by Mr P. Smith as about 120 till after 138 A.D. in Smith's *Dict. of G. and L. Biogr.*) cf. Clem. *Strom.* 7. 17 §§ 106, 7 Klotz (=Page 325 Sylb.; Pages 898, 899 Potter) *περὶ τοὺς Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως χρόνους οἱ τὰς αἰρέσεις ἐπινοήσαντες γεγόνاسι καὶ μέχρι γε τῆς Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου διέτειναν ἡλικίας καθάπερ ὁ Βασιλείδης καὶ Γλαυκίαν ἐπιγράφηται διδάσκαλον, ὡς αὐχοῦσιν αὐτοί, τὸν Πέτρου ἐρμηνέα. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Οὐαλεντίνον Θεοδόδι ἀκηκοέναι φέρουσιν, γινώριμος δ' οὗτος ἐγγέγονει Παύλου. Μαρκίων γὰρ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς ἡλικίαν γενόμενος ὡς πρεσβύτερος νεωτέ-*

*ροισ συνεγένετο. Μεθ' ὃν Σίμων ἐπ' ὀλίγον κηρύσσοντας (this must refer to the book *The Preaching of Peter*) τοῦ Πέτρου ὑπήκουσεν. Ὡν οὕτως ἐχόντων συμφανὲς ἐκ τῆς προγενεστάτης καὶ ἀληθεστάτης ἐκκλησίας τὰς μεταγενεστέρας ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἐτι τούτων ὑποβεβηκυίας τῷ χρόνῳ κεκαυτομοῆσθαι παραχαρθείσας αἰρέσεις.*

<sup>2</sup> We must notice that being 30 days apart, they could not in any case both be Friday.

<sup>3</sup> For the possibility of the Passover being before the equinox see Anatolius quoted by Eusebius *H. E.* vii. 32.



Let us now put down, at any rate roughly, on what days the full moons fell in these years:

|    |  |          |   |                           |
|----|--|----------|---|---------------------------|
| 26 | New Moon   | 7 March  | 19h. 27' (=21h. 47' for Jerusalem), 6 April | 4h. 24' (=6h. 44')        |
| 27 | {New Moon 25 February 5h. 4' (=7h. 24'): full moon<br>11 March 4h. 36' (=6h. 56'), 9 April 16h. 19' (=18h. 39'). |          |   |                           |
| 28 | New Moon   | 15 March | 0h. 18' (=2h. 38').                         |                           |
| 29 | New Moon   | 2 April  | (=19h. 28')                                 | Full 17 April (=5h. 17'). |
| 30 | New Moon   | 22 March | (=19h. 48')                                 | Full 6 April (=22h. 18')  |
| 31 | New Moon   | 12 March | (=0h. 36')                                  | Full 27 March (=13h. 25') |
| 32 | New Moon   | 29 March | (=22h. 21')                                 | Full 14 April (=11h. 6')  |
| 33 | New Moon   | 19 March | (=13h. 7')                                  | Full 3 April (=16h. 39')  |

From this it will appear that the following combinations only deserve further consideration:—

(i) Alexandrine reckoning—26 A.D. March 21, April 20; and 32 A.D. April 14.

(ii) Egyptian reckoning—27 A.D. March 9, April 8; 30 A.D. March 8, April 7.

Of these A.D. 26, March 21st is Thursday, April 20th Saturday; A.D. 32, April 14th is Monday; A.D. 27, March 9th is Sunday, April 8th Tuesday; A.D. 30 March 8th Wednesday, April 7th Friday.

Of course it may be the case that all these dates are astronomical calculations by Egyptian scholars of Passover dates (reckoned as Anatolius for example reckons from the true new moon), without any regard for the date of the week. It might in this case happen that the actual<sup>3</sup> Jewish Passover was on a different day to that estimated by these scholars, and in any case that these scholars had not concerned themselves with the question whether their dates were reconcilable with the fact of the Crucifixion occurring on Friday. However, on the one hand the disagreement between actual and estimated Passover could not be very great (for Philo tells us Nisan 14 is

<sup>1</sup> I give this year, because if Clement does reckon Tiberius' reign from A.D. 10, he may mean this date by the 26th year. Cf. the long list pages 237, 238 and the 25th year for the Baptism.

<sup>2</sup> At this time the equinox is vibrating between about 2 a.m. and

8 p.m. on 22 March.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Turner in *The Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxiii. no. 66, Jan. 1892, pp. 395—400 is inclined to find a traditional date in 18 March 29 A.D.; but see p. 244.

when the moon is at point to be full, Nisan 15 when it is full), and *the actual Passover would be later than the estimated*<sup>1</sup>. Thus this explanation could only avail for March 21st Thursday A.D. 26, and perhaps March 8th Wednesday A.D. 30. Calculation shews that the full moon in March 26 A.D. was 21 March, 21<sup>h</sup> 21' (= 23<sup>h</sup> 41' for Jerusalem), and in March 30 A.D. on 8 March, 20<sup>h</sup> 54' (= 23<sup>h</sup> 14' for Jerusalem). On the other hand unless these scholars' dates allow the Passover on Friday night, or at worst Thursday night, they cannot be the correct date for the Crucifixion. Thus as far as these conditions are concerned, the dates in 27 A.D. can only be accepted as erroneous calculations by scholars, since they do not satisfy the Friday test; April 7th, 30 A.D. may be true, and if so, March 8th is an astronomer's calculation disregarding the day of the week; March 22nd, 26 A.D. might, as far as Clement is concerned, be the Crucifixion Friday; April 20th would then be an astronomer's calculation, as also April 13th, 32 A.D. For the moment it will suffice to say that if we are to get meaning out of Clement's other dates, we must reject these Alexandrine dates; in any case we could hardly believe 26 A.D. possible for the Crucifixion because of St Luke's dating of the Baptism (iii. 23); on the other hand, if we accept these dates as Egyptian, we cannot, it is true, regard them as traditional or historical relics, but April 7th, 30 A.D. may be taken as a date satisfying them and the other conditions of the problem.

We can then hardly hesitate to accept the last date, 25 Phamuthi = April 7th, 30 A.D. as the actual date of the Crucifixion: 25 Phamenoth = March 8th will probably be another erroneous calculation, giving the Passover before<sup>2</sup> the equinox. It is true that *a priori* we should expect this difference as to the month of the Passover to arise in such a case as A.D. 26, where March 21st is barely before the equinox, which in that year

<sup>1</sup> But see Turner, *loc. cit.* pp. 393—4.

<sup>2</sup> I take this to have been a possibility (in the absence of evidence) in our Lord's age, but the tradition that the Crucifixion was on Friday and the Passover either Thursday or Friday

night seems decisive against thinking it the actual date. H. Browne p. 394 explains 25 Phamenoth as erroneously derived from an addition of 354 days to the Passover-date of 29 A.D. which he thinks the true date.

fell on March 22nd, but although that day is Thursday 3 a.m. to Friday 3 a.m., the evidence is all against the Passover having been on Maundy Thursday<sup>1</sup> night. One other point may be considered. It is possible that the date which gives a Sunday is the date for Easter, so that the Crucifixion will thus be supposed to be two days earlier—A.D. 27, March 7th. But this seems hardly possible astronomically as a Passover date: it is put out of court by the fact that if we are to suppose Easter Sunday given by it as March 9th, we can make nothing of the alternative date a month later, and the Passover cannot have been on Friday, three days before the full moon.

To sum up then, the possibilities of the case seem to be these:

(i) If Clement uses Alexandrine reckoning, the calculators he refers to put the Crucifixion in A.D. 26 mostly—some giving March 21st, a Thursday perhaps, for the Passover—others giving April 20th, Saturday—some again put it in A.D. 32, and gave April 14th. This, though lamely, interprets Phar-muthi 19 at once.

(ii) If Clement gives Egyptian reckoning, the Crucifixion

<sup>1</sup> Besides other reasons, how can Pentecost that year otherwise have fallen on Sunday? Cf. Josephus *Jud. Bell.* ii. 3 § 1 (§ 42, p. 149, Naber vol. 5) ἐνστάσης τῆς πεντηκοστῆς (οὕτω καλοῦσι τινα ἑορτὴν Ἰουδαῖοι παρ' ἑπτὰ γιγνομένην ἐβδομάδας, κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν).

The following fragment from Clement's *de paschate* quoted at second-hand by Petavius *Uranologium* p. 399 is important (Klotz *Clement* vol. iv. p. 75):—

Τοῖς μὲν οὖν παρεληλυθόσιν ἔτεσι τὸ θυόμενον πρὸς Ἰουδαίον ἦσθιεν ἑορτάζων ὁ Κύριος πάσχα. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκήρυξεν αὐτὸς ὦν τὸ πάσχα ὁ ἀμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἀγόμενος αὐτίκα ἐδίδαξε μὲν τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ τόπου τὸ μυστήριον τῇ ἐγ', ἐν ᾗ καὶ πυθάνονται αὐτοῦ, ποῦ θέλεις ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν;

ταύτη οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὁ ἀγίασμός τῶν ἀζύμων καὶ ἡ προετοιμασία τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐγένετο. Ὅθεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκότως ὡσάν προετοιμαζομένους ἤδη ἀπονίσσασθαι τοὺς πόδας πρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τοὺς μαθητὰς ἀναγράφει. Πέπονθε δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς ὦν τὸ πάσχα καλλιερθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.....

Ἀκολουθῶς ἄρα τῇ ιδ', ὅτε καὶ ἔπαθεν, ἔωθεν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῷ Πιλάτῳ προσάγοντες οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκωλύτως ἐσπέρας τὸ πάσχα φάγωσι. Ταύτη τῶν ἡμερῶν τῇ ἀκριβεῖ καὶ αἱ γραφαὶ πᾶσαι συμφωνοῦσι καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια συνωδᾷ. Ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῇ γοῦν τρίτῃ ἀνέστη ἡμέρᾳ, ἥτις ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν ἐβδομάτων τοῦ θρισμοῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸ δράγμα ἐνομοθετεῖτο προενεγκεῖν τὸν ἱερέα.



was in A.D. 30, on April 7th<sup>1</sup>, Friday; some calculators—presumably working from a disorganized calendar come into vogue among the Jews after the destruction of the Temple—put it on March 8th, Wednesday (or just possibly put it in A.D. 27 on March 7th).

Accepting then 7 April, 30 A.D. as the correct date, and taking Clement's time-notation to be Egyptian<sup>2</sup>, we still have to explain the third date he gives, Pharmuthi 19. I had suggested that this was the date in the Egyptian calendar of Basileides' time (124—128 A.D.) for Phamenoth 25. But H. Browne suggests (*loc. cit.* p. 334) that we should read *Φαρμουθι θ'*, rejecting the iota of the numeral as derived from the final iota of *Φαρμουθι*. This date he interprets as in the vague year, and therefore = March 22, which, he adds, is precisely the day assigned to the Crucifixion in the synodical letter (ap. Bed. *de Aequinoct.*) of the Council of Caesarea in Palestine (cf. Eus. *H. E.* v. 23), held in A.D. 195, i.e. in Clement's own times. He gives no further explanation: but it is tempting to regard it as a surviving testimony to an early theory that the Crucifixion was on 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 26 A.D., which was a Friday and is astronomically correct. Unfortunately the date in 26 A.D. is March 23, and besides, according to S. Luke iii. 1, it would only allow three months for the Lord's Ministry, and this contradicts S. John. But that at first some scholars held to a three months' Ministry, we have seen to be not improbable (p. 234, note).

Leaving Clement, we find a number of authors<sup>3</sup> giving March 25th as the date of the Crucifixion, sometimes adding that the year is A.D. 29. Mr C. H. Turner has ventured to deduce from this that the true date for the Crucifixion was March 18th in that year, on the twofold ground that Epiphanius attests that there was at one time an alternative reading to March 25th, and that March 18th is, as he thinks, astronomically

<sup>1</sup> This evidence should strengthen the case for the date, as stated by J. B. McClellan *New Testament* vol. i. pp. 473—494.

<sup>2</sup> It must be borne in mind through-

out that the Jewish day begins at sunset, the Egyptian at about 3 a.m.

<sup>3</sup> So Tertullian, Hippolytus, Liberian Chronicle (354 A.D.).

correct<sup>1</sup>. But there can be no doubt that this also is only a calculation, not a tradition—a calculation which probably owes its wide vogue to Hippolytus<sup>2</sup>. Were it well founded, it would be surprising that the Alexandrian scholars had not suggested it. But besides this there is some indication that there was an older calculation still of March 21st or 22nd as the Crucifixion date.

I have myself found how difficult it is to arrive at a position from which one can judge the correctness of a writer's deductions from his authorities, when he merely gives a reference to them, or quotes a few words, so that I prefer to quote in full all that is relevant in the authorities.

Epiphanius writes *haeres.*<sup>3</sup> 50 (quartodecimans) num. 1:—  
 "Ἐτεροι δὲ... ἀπὸ τῶν ἁκτῶν δῆθεν Πιλάτου ἀν'χοῦσι τὴν ἀκριβείαν εὐρηκέναι, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται τῇ πρὸ ὀκτῶ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸν Σωτῆρα πεπονθέναι... ἔτι δὲ εὗρομεν ἀντίγραφα ἐκ τῶν Πιλάτου ἐν οἷς σημαίνει πρὸ δεκάπεντε<sup>4</sup> καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸ πάθος γεγενῆσθαι.

But it is to be noticed that in a MS. at Giessen published<sup>5</sup> in Schmidt's *bibliotheca critica et exegetica Novi Test.* II. I p. 508 sqq. we have:—Factum est in nonodecimo tyberii caesaris imperatoris romanorum et herodis filii herodis imperatoris galilee, anno nono decimo principatus eius VIII Kal. April. quod est XXV die marci, consulibus basso et tarquilio,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 241, where it may be added that the full moon was on 18 March 19<sup>h</sup> 1' (=21<sup>h</sup> 21' at Jerusalem). Cf. also p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, art. Hippolytus by Prof. G. Salmon, vol. II. p. 92, col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Tischendorf *Evangelia Apocrypha* 1876, p. LXV.

<sup>4</sup> It was a Western rule that if the full moon fell on Saturday, Easter Sunday should be the next day week. Cf. Prof. G. Salmon in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, art. Hippolytus. Cf. also p. 250 however. In this I should be inclined to find an explana-

tion of 27 March being made Easter Sunday, and then by inference 25 March Good Friday. But see C. H. Turner *Studia Bibl.* vol. cit. p. 134. In such recklessness of revising dates as these later ecclesiastics seem to have possessed, it may be asked whether both this Crucifixion date 25 March and that for Christmas 25 December do not come from a confusion of Kalends with Ides: this being truly VIII Id. Apriles=April 6th, Maundy Thursday, A.D. 30, and that VIII Id. Jan.=Jan. 6th, the Baptism.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Tischendorf, *op. cit.* p. LXXV.



anno quarto ducentesima secunda olimpiade sub principibus sacerdotum iudeorum ioseph et anne et caiphe, *quarta die post crucem* et passionem domini hystoriatu est nichodemus....

Are we to suppose that this springs from the erroneous calculation 21<sup>1</sup> March, A.D. 26, in which case Clement must after all use the Alexandrian notation and the date will be valueless? or from a later misunderstanding of Pharmuthi 25, when the Alexandrine calendar had become regnant? Or is it the counterpart of that calculation which gives 25 March for the Crucifixion because that is supposed to be the day of the equinox? It seems best to reckon inclusively, so that 22 March is here again the date of the Crucifixion.

It should be noted that apart from differences in the statement of the year of the Crucifixion due to varying calculations, there may not improbably be some difference due to various dating of the beginning of Tiberius' reign. Thus if Clement is using Alexandrian notation, and therefore means March A.D. 26 to be in the 16th year of Tiberius, his text may be sound when he gives Tiberius 26 years' sovereignty<sup>2</sup>. And we find

Origen and } giving Tiberius' 15th year for the  
Tertullian<sup>3</sup> *adv. Jud.* 8 } Crucifixion.

Orosius the 17th.

Hippolytus<sup>4</sup>, 4th Book on Daniel, p. 19, l. 2, the 18th.

Eusebius (perhaps to get in Phlegon's eclipse), the 19th.

Orosius preferring the 20th.

## § 2. Christmas, April 14th or 15th B.C. 5.

Again we find Clement's specialists pronouncing in favour of Pachon<sup>5</sup> 25th as the date of the Nativity; and some—of the

<sup>1</sup> Lactantius gives 23 March. Is this the Easter Sunday, two days later? or a supposed Good Friday before a supposed Easter on 25 March?

<sup>2</sup> So he seems to give Galba's reign as beginning before Nero's ends.

<sup>3</sup> But Tertullian makes this 29 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> Hippolytus makes this 29 A.D., giving as consuls Rufus and Rubellius.

<sup>5</sup> H. Browne, p. 334, writes: 'These dates I am unable to explain,' but he also rightly saw that they were dates of the vague year. He interprets  $\pi\phi$



Basileideans apparently—giving Pharmuthi 24 or 25. It is possible that, as with the date of the Crucifixion, so here we have two calculations backwards of a Jewish date, with consequent uncertainty whether there was an intercalated Ve-adar or not. But if we are to take them as *bona fide* dates, it is interesting to find that if the Nativity were 24 Pharmuthi, 5—1 B.C., this would be 25 Pachon, 120—124. This resemblance to the result we attain from the Crucifixion dates is the more striking, that it is not associated with a fixed interval between the two sets of dates we thus reconcile: in the one case 31 days intervene, in the case of the Crucifixion-dates, 24 days. As will be seen below, this coincidence, whatever its value by itself, is immeasurably strengthened by what we find in Epiphanius, who again gives a new date, but a date that can find its origin in Pharmuthi 24 = 14 April, B.C. 5—1.

It now only remains to see if with the knowledge of the day and month of Birth and Passover, we can determine the year, and so test our conclusions by the Canonical Gospels.

We have seen that the Birth-date will reconcile with an alternative date in Basileides' time, if the year is about 5 B.C. But further, even if the Passion were in 27<sup>1</sup>, the Baptism must be in December 25 A.D. at least, and as we cannot go further back without contradicting S. Luke<sup>2</sup>, we may

ὁγδόῃ καὶ εικοστῇ ἔτει as the 28th year of the Alexandrians, but why not of Augustus' reign?

<sup>1</sup> The Alexandrine interpretation which would bring it to 26 A.D. will not help us, because then the Birth-date would presumably be Alexandrine too (April 19) and be unchanging. Even with 9 Pharmuthi 26 A.D. the Baptism must be in Dec. 25 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> St Luke iii. 1 writes ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας. With this compare Josephus *Antiqui.* xviii. 2 § 2 (§ 31 p. 141, vol. 4, Naber) διαδέχεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτον Ἄννιος Ροῦφος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ

τελευτᾷ Καῖσαρ, δεύτερος μὲν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος, ἐπτά δὲ καὶ πενήκοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη, πρὸς οἷς μῆνες ἐξ ἡμέραιν δυοῖν πλείονες (τοῦτου δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου τετταρεσκαίδεκα ἔτη συνῆρξεν Ἀντώνιος), βιώσας ἔτη ἐπτά καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα.....καὶ πεμπτὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (sc. Tiberius) παρῆν Ἰουδαίῳ ἐπαρχος..... Οὐαλέριος Γράτος.....καὶ Γράτος μὲν..... εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαρχοῦει ἔνδεκα ἔτη διατρίψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ, Πόντιος δὲ Πιλάτος διάδοχος αὐτῷ ἦκεν (cf. *Jewish War* ii. 9 § 1 = Naber § 168, vol. 5), and xviii. 4 § 2 (§ 89, p. 152, vol. 4, Naber) Πιλάτος δὲ ἐτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἡμείγρο.....πρὶν δ' ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσσχεῖν αὐτὸν, φθάσει Τιβέ-

accept that date or the same month in 26, 27, 28 or even perhaps 29 as correct. The Birth will then be not earlier than December, 6 B.C., if at the Baptism our Lord was exactly 30 years of age. It would be possible of course to place the date at April, 4, 3, or 2 B.C., but there is a reason for making it 5 or 1 B.C. We can then explain the alternative Pharmuthi 24, as due to the year being a leap year. To determine our choice between 5 and 1 B.C. we have on the one hand the statements of the Canonical Gospels that Herod was alive, on the other, the temptation to bring our date for Basileides to what we have determined from the Passion-dates: to satisfy 5 B.C., Basileides' date would be 120—124 A.D., to satisfy 1 B.C. and the Passion-date, 124—128 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

We come now to the statement of the length of time between the Nativity and the death of Commodus, 194<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>m</sup> 13<sup>m</sup>. Disregarding the years<sup>2</sup>—for we can easily see how Clement arrives at the years, by deduction from S. Luke iii. 23, not from knowledge or tradition—we arrive at November 18 as the date of the Nativity. Can this be reconciled in any way with the dates given by Clement in the rest of the passage? Not, certainly, if we reckon as has commonly been done—but let it be converted into the Egyptian year, then November 17 = Tubi 15 from 188—192<sup>3</sup>. Commodus died December 31st 192.

ριος μεταστάς. § 3 (§ 90, Naber) Οὐτέλλιος δ' εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνέει, καὶ (ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐορτή, πάσχα δὲ καλεῖται)...

<sup>1</sup> H. Browne *loc. cit.* gives a most ingenious explanation of the origin of the diverse datings of the Baptism. If (as he shews and as will appear from this paper to have been the case) the Baptism and Nativity were confused (supposed to be the same day, as Clement indeed is contemptuously willing to assume them), 11 Tubi is the fixed Alexandrine dating of vague Tubi 16 in B.C. 2 (he has taken the liberty of thinking to argue as if he had this not Tubi 15 because he wanted to harmonize the date with the interval given, 194<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>m</sup> 13<sup>m</sup>, till Com-

modus' death), and—to correct his figures—11 Tubi is the fixed date answering to vague Tubi 15 in the four years from August 9 B.C. to August 5 B.C. If then we use this test to discover the year of the Nativity we arrive at April 5 B.C. as alone the possible true Nativity-date, and regard either Tubi 11 (or Tubi 15 just possibly) as a date arisen among those who gave an exact 30 years from the Nativity to the Baptism (cf. p. 249, note 2).

<sup>2</sup> If the dates which I have tried to establish are correct, either Clement is in error, or for δ' = 4 we should read δ' = 6.

<sup>3</sup> For the apparent variation of one day, we must remember that the



But Tubi 15 is given by Clement himself as the day of the Baptism, and we can see that the two feasts are constantly confused<sup>1</sup>.

§ 3. *The Baptism, December 29, A.D. 25 or 26<sup>2</sup>.*

Turn we now to the dates of the Baptism, Tubi 15 (or 11). In A.D. 25, 26, or 27, these dates are equal to December 29 (or 25). As I have tried to demonstrate, these dates harmonize with Clement's reckoning of the interval between the Nativity and Commodus' death—if we suppose the usual confusion between the Nativity-feast and the Baptism. But there is further evidence. Were both these dates in Tubi to be interpreted as dates of the Alexandrine calendar—as has hitherto been done—so that their lineal representatives are an otherwise unknown January 10 and Tubi 11 (i.e. Jan. 6) of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and other later authorities, who give it for the date of the Nativity, we might be puzzled to explain how Epiphanius' statements could also be descended from such an original. He tells us that the Baptism was κατ' Αἰγυπτίους 'Αθὺρ δωδεκάτῃ πρὸ ἑξ εἰδῶν Νοεμβρίων, and the Nativity<sup>3</sup> πρὸ ὀκτῶ εἰδῶν 'Ιανουαρίων κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Τυβὶ ἐνδεκάτῃ. But if the original date of the Nativity was as I have suggested 24 Pharmuthi, B.C. 5, i.e. April 14th, this would become January 6 (Tubi 11 of Alexandrians) in the years 388—392,

Egyptian day continues into the following English and Roman day; whereas the Alexandrine notation apparently is content to give the equivalent for the following day, and includes the preceding midnight. Cf. C. H. Turner in *Studia Biblica*, Oxon. vol. II. p. 142 and infra p. 251.

<sup>1</sup> H. Browne, *loc. cit.* p. 329, gives substantially the same interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> S. Luke iii. 23 says the Baptism was in Tiberius' 15th year. This is generally supposed to mean A.D. March 26 to Feb. 27 (J. B. McClellan, *op. cit.* pp. 402—406), but Ramsay, *Was Christ* &c. p. 221, gives reason for supposing

the 15th year to begin 25 A.D., either Jan. 1st, September 23rd or April 18th. Thus we may for the present accept 29 December in 25 or 26 A.D. as the date of the Baptism, until further evidence comes to light. H. Browne naturally makes τῷ πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει begin August A.D. 28. But he has made a miscalculation when he gives (besides his explanation referred to p. 248, note 1) 11 Tubi vague = 25 December A.D. 28. It has this value in the four years August 24 to 28 August.

<sup>3</sup> Epiphanius says also πέμπτῃ 'Ιανουαρίου ἑσπέρα εἰς ἕκτῃν ἐπιφώσκουσα.



and Epiphanius' date is given as circ. 375<sup>1</sup>. But what of the November date for the Baptism? I feel no certainty here, but suggest with doubt that just as Tubi 15 had in Clement's day rolled round from December 29 to November 18, so by Hippolytus' date it had become November 8 (A.D. 232), and—being no longer observed<sup>2</sup> in practice—was reproduced from Hippolytus by Epiphanius<sup>3</sup>.

#### § 4. *Later Evidence.*

To take a final test from the Fathers. The *Apostolic Constitutions* give the Nativity as Choiak 28, πρὸ ὁκτώ Καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίων; the Baptism as Tubi 11; the Passion Phamenoth 29. Again we see reason here to reject the current method of interpreting Clement's dates: for if he used the Alexandrian calendar, why should the Nativity become Choiak 28—especially when Epiphanius, who does use that calendar, gives 12 Athyr for the Baptism, 11 Tubi for the Nativity?

We may notice the following points:—

(i) The Passion-date varying from year to year, the original date as determined by the scholars, either from astronomical calculations or an Easter Cycle, is repeated (even if the calendar is changed), for it is not required for liturgical observance. Perhaps this may explain the date March 25 for the Passion—it is Phamenoth 29, mistakenly supposed to be a date in the Alexandrian calendar; but it is more probably an indication of the widespread influence upon the East of Hippolytus' calculations<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> But see also p. 248, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> As will be seen below p. 251 the Baptism date of later ages was not a descendant of this primitive tradition or calculation, but a confusion with the Nativity.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below for Hippolytus' influence in the East, and see Prof. G. Salmon, art. Hippolytus in *Dict. of Christ. Biography*. If Hippolytus dated the Baptism Tubi 11, this would be 8

November in 216—20 A.D. That he did take this alternative is perhaps supported by the practice of the Romans later; cf. p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> It is true Mr Turner (*Dict. of Bible*, p. 415, col. 1) argues that as [Tertullian] *adv. Jud.* 8 and Hippolytus *Comm. in Dan.* give this date, it cannot be derived from Hippolytus' *Paschal Cycle*. But it is obvious that the calculation would not be made in

(ii) Other dates, as Christmas and the Baptism, which would not vary from year to year, would when once calculated be continued in the Egyptian Church on the same day in their calendar. Thus in Epiphanius' day the Nativity had come to be observed on the Roman January 6th (the Baptism date which was the original Tubi 15 should have been in August, but I suppose its observance to have died out). The Romans however had taken over the alternative Baptism-day—Tubi 11 = December 25, and, by the same confusion as we see in Clement, observed it as the Birthday of the Lord. A conflict followed; and the matter was compromised<sup>1</sup> by adopting the Roman Birth-date, and taking the Eastern date for an Epiphany date—the change being probably helped in the East by the fact that this was Tubi 11 in the now accepted Alexandrine or Augustan calendar.

### § 5. *The Gospels.*

Do these dates satisfy all the facts? They satisfy S. Luke if we accept Ramsay's conclusion<sup>2</sup> that Tiberius' 15th year

221 A.D., first, and perhaps not first by Hippolytus.

<sup>1</sup> S. Chrysostom's remarks (*Hom. in Diem Natalem* ii. Col. 351 quoted by McClellan *op. cit.* p. 407/8) of A.D. 386 shew that December 25 had not then been adopted ten years in the East. The rest of his statement—that the Romans had verified the date in their archives—may be put down as a preacher's rhetoric.

<sup>2</sup> Since the consensus of workers is what establishes a theory, I may perhaps be permitted to say that the recovery of evidence carrying back the Provincial Census led me also immediately to work back to an early date for the Nativity—I placed it between 9 and 5 B.C. from the Clementine dates and the Census calculation. A friend who saw my work then brought Ramsay's book to my notice. I suppose

this first—preliminary—census to have taken longer than subsequent ones to carry out: so that not before the spring of 5 B.C. did Joseph and Mary need to go up to Bethlehem. As Saturninus was in Syria from the summer of 9 or 8 till the summer of 7 B.C. when Varus succeeded him to remain till 4 B.C. summer, that will explain Tertullian's remark (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 19).

It is to be noticed that this remark of Tertullian seems to leave us with but two hypotheses possible: either that S. Luke's text as we have it is here subsequent to or unknown to Tertullian—an unlikely hypothesis considering what we know of Marcion against whom he is here writing—or Tertullian did not understand S. Luke to mean what moderns do. (But see Ramsay, p. 244.) Is it permissible to read *αὐτῇ ἡ ἀπογραφῇ*, or to interpret



runs from some time in 25 to December 25 or even into 26<sup>1</sup>. They satisfy Clement in every respect but one—that he reckons 42 years from the Crucifixion to the Fall of Jerusalem: but as 28 A.D. would be quite incorrigible as a date for the Passion, when we tried to adapt it to his dates for the Passover, we need not be careful in the matter, and especially as he so evidently sets himself to make the years of the Lord's life chime with his mistaken recollections of S. Luke.

As to all the other datings given in the Fathers, it is tolerably evident that they are not independent evidence, but mere varieties of expression for certain dates determined by calculation<sup>2</sup>, not preserved by tradition: and therefore there can be little doubt that the dates of the Church of Egypt, the home of sound astronomy and the centre of learning, are to be preferred.

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the present text thus:—"This census for which Augustus thus sent out orders and Herod made preparations was however only carried out when Quirinius was proconsul of Syria, and it was the first ever held in Judaea"?

We thus get time for the orderly Purification in the Temple, Visit of the Magi, Sojourn in Egypt—all before Herod's death in April 4 B.C. (cf. S. Luke i. 5, S. Matthew ii. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Ramsay, *Was Christ &c.* p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Hippolytus in the confidence of his Cycle fixed upon 25 March A.D. 29. See p. 244. At the same time it is but right to say that H. Browne, *loc. cit.* pp. 334—5, argues that the Baptism-dates are derived from two Crucifixion-dates by subtracting 62½ weeks of days, or 62 weeks, on the strength

of Daniel ix. 25. This, as he very truly remarks, was quite in the spirit of the age, and he refers to the discussion in Clement himself in this very passage of Daniel's prophetic periods. But since this paper was written, I had occasion to refer to Godet's commentary on S. John, and a remark of his to the effect that S. John i. 19—ii. 11 gives the narrative of a week, led me to observe that combining this Gospel with the Synoptists we get proof that the Baptism was at any rate about the end of December. For after the Baptism there are (i) at least 40 days, S. Mark i. 13; (ii) seven days, S. John i. 29, 35, 40, 43; ii. 1; (iii) *οὐ πολλάς ἡμέρας*, ii. 12; before (iv) the Passover was nigh at hand, ii. 13.



## EMENDATIONS OF VALERIUS FLACCUS<sup>1</sup>.

I 399 sq.                    uacua nam lapsus ab arbore paruum  
ter quater ardenti tergo circumuenit anguis.

That *uacua* is corrupt is a matter of general agreement. But neither *uasta* Schenkl, nor *patula* Heinsius, nor *uacuum* Damsté, can claim even *prima facie* plausibility; *CVRYA* would be near to the tradition and would give sense, The serpent's weight bowed the tree as Ovid says of the one that Agenor killed, 'pondere serpentis curuata est arbor,' Met. 3. 93; cf. 'curua—arbore,' of a tree loaded with fruit, ib. 5. 536.

II 142    icta genas.

This is a very strange expression and not sufficiently supported by Virgil's 'tunsae pectora palmis.' I conjecture *SCISSA* genas. See below on III 134.

III 133 sqq.

tollitur hinc totusque ruit Tirynthius arcu  
pectore, certa regens aduersa spicula flamma,  
per piceos accensa globos; et pectus harundo  
per medium contenta fugit: ruit ille comanti  
ore facem supra maiorque apparuit ignis.

Phlegyas is waving a torch in the dark, 'arduus et late fumanti nube coruscus,' and is shot through the breast by Hercules, falling with his beard on the torch's flame, which flares up again. The intervening incidents are obscure as the text is corrupt. *totus* has already been attacked by Baehrens, whose *tento* is

<sup>1</sup> Most of the following suggestions of Valerius Flaccus in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*, have been communicated to Prof. Bury for his recently published text

accepted by Langen, who adds 'frustra Loehbach coll. VII 600 *totusque servare conatur.*' How justly, may be seen from the words of the citation: 'inuadit *totusque* incumbit Iason | desuper atque suis defectum flatibus urguet.' Jason is there mastering a bull: Hercules is here launching an arrow. But *ruit*, as it stands, is not less absurd; what marksman that ever lived 'rushed' or 'plunged' *while* he was shooting? Nor *pectore*: which is said to mean that, as the hand was drawn with the cord to the breast, the *breast* guided the aim; and this, although it is obvious that what Valerius represents as 'guiding the aim' is the illumination of the '*aduersa flamma*,' as I have indicated by my punctuation. Where everything is so perverse, we can hardly speak of a crowning absurdity: otherwise we might well so describe the current interpretation of *accensa*, '*haec spicula cum per ipsam flammam accendebantur.*' That is, the arrow which killed Phlegyas caught fire (from the torch-flame which he held conveniently on a level with the centre of his chest) in the fraction of a second which elapsed before it lodged in his heart, and this by passing through *piceos globos* or clouds of smoke! The fact is that *accensus*, like the English 'lighted,' has two different senses, and the interpreters have pitched on the wrong one. The right sense is that of VIII 115 '*nubibus accensis similem*' = Ap. Rh. IV 126 and V 369 '*saeuo cum nox accenditur auro*'; cf. Sil. 3. 671, 11. 515. *per piceos—globos* are then the black surroundings from which some 'lighted,' i.e. illuminated, object stands out. It was necessary for Hercules' aim that there should be a mark of this kind: he would have been a foolish archer to shoot at a torch-flame. Can we discover what it was? It crossed the straight line to the breast: for through this sped the death-shaft, and it was named in a neuter plural. Only two words can be thought to satisfy these conditions: *cingula*, compare I. 141 '*aspera uictor | cingula sublustri uibrantia detrahit umbra*,' and *baltea*, which is to be preferred because of the vicinity of *cingula*. *baltea* then it is probable was in the passage as Silius penned it.

I now return to the first verse, '*tollitur hinc totusque.*' Baehrens proposed *tento*, which is possible, as it is right in sense. But *hinc* is not wanted (cf. VIII 328), and *infra* 590 sq.



'Tirynthius—*intento* decurrit montibus *arcu*' certainly favours the supposition that here too he wrote *INTENTO*. The not uncommon passage of *in* in MSS. to *hinc* I have illustrated elsewhere, on Manilius v 135 (*Silua Maniliana*, p. 45).

Let us now see if we can restore its sense and approximately its form to the passage. There are two possibilities. The description may be entire. If so, *ruit* will have ousted *PETIT* and would then have come from 136, and *pectore* will have displaced *baltea*. The latter might naturally be thought a violent change. But it must be remembered that the beginnings of other lines in the archetype of our MSS. appear to have suffered injury and to have been patched up by unknown hands with very indifferent success. Thus II 139 'Velleribus,' the MSS. 'Litoribus,' VIII 163 'Tempora' the MSS., which is undoubtedly corrupt, but for the reason I have indicated of uncertain origin. ib. 360 'Nabat' Heinsius, 'Ibat' the MSS. This is my justification for proposing (*Journal of Philology* XXII, p. 312) 'Ilibus' for 'Frigidus' in VI 259; the first two letters were illegible and *-ibus* looked like the adjectival ending *-idus* (cf. 'imbridus' for 'imbribus' at v. 176), and for suggesting that in II 142 the strange '*icta genas*' may have come from *ciffa* or *iffa*, i.e. '*scissa genas*.' But there is another possibility. A line may have been lost, as lines have been lost elsewhere in Valerius Flaccus, and in that case *ruit* may be retained (cf. 'decurrit' already quoted from 591), as *petit* may have had a place in the lost verse. The passage then may have run

tollitur INTENTOQUE ruit Tirynthius arcu  
in latoque petit fulgentia baltea bullis  
pectore, certa regens aduersa spicula flamma,  
per piceos accensa globos.

My suggestion for the form of the lost line is based on Virgil *Aen.* 12. 942 sq. 'infelix umero cum apparuit alto | *bulteus* et notis *fulserunt* cingula *bullis*.' Varro *L. L.* 5. 116 derives '*balteum*' from '*bullatum*.'

III 167 sqq.

leuis ante pedes subsederat Admon:



occupat os barbamque uiri clauamque superne  
 intonat 'occumbes' et 'nunc' ait 'Herculis armis,  
 donum ingens semperque tuis mirabile fatis.' 170

Mr Summers (*A Study etc.*, p. 73) is clearly right in reading *occumbes* for the *occumbens* of V: but his and the vulgate punctuation must be corrected as above. 'donum ingens' &c. is an acc. in apposition to the idea of *occumbes*; Admon's death by the hand of Hercules is a great privilege. *tuis fatis*, if genuine, must be dative, 'to your spirit,' a use of *fata* which is found in Mela (*chor.* 2. 2). But it would make the sequel far more effective if Valerius wrote *SAECLIS* 'your contemporaries.' For it was this boast of Hercules which revealed the hideous truth to Admon's fellow-shades, 'horruit ille cadens, *nomenque agnovit amicum*, | *primus et ignaris dirum scelus attulit umbris*.'

### III 227 sq.

ast illum fluuiis et nocte remensa  
 Eumenidum canis et sparsae iuba reppulit hydrae.

For *remensa* Madvig corrected *remersat*, a verb not found elsewhere. The sense is right: but it would be better to read *remersū*, i.e. *REMERSVM*, the participle of *remergo*, which is used by St Augustine. 'Eumenidum canis' and 'sparsae iuba hydrae' refer to the same monster, the hell-bound Cerberus with his ruff or mane of a hundred snaky heads. This use of the 'timeless' participle = 'reppulit remersitque' is characteristic of the poets.

### III 556 sqq.

utque artus et concita pectora sudor  
 diluerat, gratos auidus procumbit ad amnes.  
 stagna uaga sic luce micant ubi Cynthia caelo  
 prospicit aut medii transit rota candida Phoebi:  
 tale iubar diffundit aquis: nil umbra comaeque 560  
 turbauitque sonus surgentis ad oscula Nymphae.  
 illa auidas iniecta manus heu sera cientem  
 auxilia et magni referentem nomen amici  
 detrahīt: adiutae pronō nam pondere uires.

The subject is the rape of Hylas by the nymph Dryope, 'sacuae

monitu Iunonis' (IV 27). Juno had decoyed Hylas away from Hercules by means of a stag which had stirred his youthful ardour for the chase, led him 'ad nitidi spiracula fontis' and then vanished, 'intactas levis ipse superfugit undas' (554). When his quarry disappeared, the boy, hot from its pursuit, threw himself down to quench his thirst at the spring. The light (such is the general sense of the next three lines) was playing on its surface, and this prevented him from seeing the nymph as she rose from below. Was this light natural or supernatural? 'Natural' say the editors with the MS.: it was the light of the boy's beauty (*Hylas* is to be supplied) diffused in the water: and an epigram of Agathias (Anth. Pal. 11. 64) on a girl called Rhodanthe looking into a wine vat, *μαρμαρυγῇ κάλλους νᾶμα κατηγλάισεν*, is quoted for this view. But we must be allowed to doubt. First, the parallel is defective in an important respect: *μαρμαρυγῇ* and *iubar*, *κατηγλάισε* and *diffundit* correspond, but there is nothing to answer to *κάλλους*. Secondly, we find the light here dwelt on with an insistence which is strange if the main point of the comparison is the beauty, however dazzling, of Hylas. *sic luce micant—rota candida Phoebe*. It therefore appears to me not improbable that Valerius wrote *DEA FVNDIT*, the *dea* being Juno who completed her work by shedding on the fountain, which was apparently in a dark pine wood (cf. 'iuga pinea' 521, 'piceae—opacae' 533, 'frondosa per auia' 545), a supernatural light<sup>1</sup>. I do not know if the use of *fundit* will be questioned: it is far less surprising than that of *fusus* in Prop. 2. 16. 24 'candida tam foedo bracchia fusa uiro.' There is a similar corruption of a preposition in Juvenal 6. 172 'et tu, dea, pone sagittas,' *depone* the MSS., corr. Graevius.

III 645 sqq.

rursum instimulat ducitque fauentes  
magnanimus Calydone satus.

Telamon has been appealing to the Argonauts to wait for their lost Hercules, urging 'non alium contra Alciden, non pectora

<sup>1</sup> As Heinsius conjectured *ceu* for *sic*, it may be as well to point out that *sic* picks up the *nitidi* in 553.



*tanta* | posse dari'; and Meleager leads the opposition<sup>1</sup>. It is hardly credible that Valerius, who was immediately going to speak of him in some such language as this, 'potioribus ille | deteriora fouens semperque inuorsa tueri | durus et haud ullis umquam superabilis aequis | rectorumue memor,' should first confer upon him the epithet of *magnanimus*. Add the obscurity and inconcinnity of *fauentes*. The change of a single letter will set all right, *ducitque fauentes* | *magnanimis*. The Argonauts are taking the side of the absent hero, when Meleager turns them again. The plural is indefinite and therefore here more effective than the singular.

## III 690 sqq.

Talibus Oenides: urget simul incita dictis  
heroum manus. ante omnes Argoa iubebat  
uincla rapi Calais.

The effect of Meleager's oration is here described: but half the force of the description has been lost through a wrong division of words. Read

Talibus Oenidæ surgit simul incita dictis  
heroum manus.

The whole audience rises at once to its feet.

## IV 214 sq.

iampridem caestus resides et frigida raris  
dentibus aret humus.

The second half of this sentence can I suppose just be construed 'the ground is cold and dry because few <bloody> teeth are scattered over it.' But clear or elegant it is not. L is a letter frequently omitted in V: see IV 529, 531, VI 479, and B and R are easily confused. So I would suggest *alBet*. There is a similar turn in III 166 sq. 'sparsusque cerebro | *albet* ager.'

<sup>1</sup> There appears to be no doubt that *Calydone satus* and *Oenides* (inf. 690) mean Meleager, and not Tydeus. Not only is the name of Meleager the first to occur to the mind; but we have already had a significant hint that he posed as another Hercules

I 434 'at tibi collectas soluit iam fibula uestes | ostenditque umeros fortes' (cf. *pectora tanta* supra) 'spatiumque superbi | pectoris Herculeis æquum, Meleagre, lacertis.' For the character of Meleager Langen refers to Preller, *Gr. Myth.* II<sup>3</sup> 304 sqq.



## IV 348 sqq.

tum pius Oeagri claro de sanguine uates  
admonitus genetrice refert casusque locorum  
Inachidosque uias *etc.*

This is now the vulgate though it comes from Peerlkamp. But it is apparently solecistic. For the abl. can only be used with the passive when *either* the person is regarded as an instrument, e.g. Cicero *pro Milone* 20 'uxore paene constrictus,' or, as in 'coniuge deseror' Ovid *Her.* 12. 161, it is helped out by an idea of removal. Neither is the case here; and V has *admonita*. Read *admonita*<A>.

## IV 438 sqq.

nouimus et diuis geniti quibus et uia iussos  
quae ferat ac uestri rebar sic tempora cursus  
proxima quaeque legens, quantum Vulcania Lemnos  
traxerit, infelix tulerit quae Cyzicus arma.

More than one scholar has condemned *rebar sic*: but neither Baehrens's *reputaui* nor Koestlin's *quaerebam* or *respexi* have the least probability. Read *SECTABAR*, which was broken (with slight corruptions) into *sic rebar*, the fragments being afterwards transposed. *sectabar* is used, like *sequebar*, in the sense of following a course with the mind's eye, and accordingly it can be followed by dependent clauses.

## V. 185 sqq.

tumulumque uirentia supra  
flumina cognati medio uidet agmina Phrixi  
quem comes infelix paruo de marmore iuxta  
stat soror.

*paruo* is generally condemned, and *Pario*, *pauido* and other suggestions have been made, but nothing that touches the real difficulty. It is clear that there were two statues; but that of Phrixus is not mentioned, though his tomb is in 'tumulum Phrixi.' There must at least be a hint of it in the context, and accordingly I would propose *PARITER de marmore*, i.e. a statue of Helle in marble like that of her brother. *parili* might also be suggested if a parallel for this use of it could be furnished.

v 223 sqq.

ante dolos ante infidi tamen exsequar astus  
Soligenae meriti falli meritique relinqui;  
inde canens, Scythica senior iam Solis VT urbe  
fata laborati Phrixus compleuerat aevi.

So should these lines (in which V has *in* for *ut*) be read and punctuated. *inde* gives the point of time from which the narrative is to start, as in Greek *-θεν*; cf. Hom. *Od.* 1. 10 τῶν ἀπόθεν γε, θεὰ, θύγατερ Διὸς, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν. Theocr. 2. 63 πόθεν τὸν Ἐρωτα δακρύσω; Mr Bury, accepting my view, reads *cum* for *iam*; but we want *iam*, and *ut* is more like poetical idiom; cf. Hor. *carm.* 4. 4. 42, *epod.* 7. 19.

v 238 sqq.

praeterea infernae quae nunc sacrata Dianae  
fert castos Medea choro, quaecumque procorum  
pacta petat, maneat regnis ne uirgo paternis.

More than one passable conjecture has been made in the last two lines, e.g. Burmann's *quicumque*, Heinsius's *neu*. But none is quite satisfactory. Read *petas*. 'Beat up a suitor for your daughter; any one will do: but—get her off your hands.'

VI 31 tunc gens quaeque suis commisit proelia telis.

V has *tunc et*; *gens* is from Meyncke and unquestionably right. But *tvm* is required by euphony and no less by palaeography, *t̄v̄g* having been mistaken for *t̄v̄c*.

VI 123 sq.

namque ubi iam uiresque aliae notusque refutat  
arcus et inceptus iam lancea temnit erilis.

Prof. Ellis, *Classical Review*, 1900, p. 156, rightly questions Langen's *recusat*. But his defence of *refutat* appears inadequate; and *renutat*, Lambinus's correction of *refutat* in Luer. 3. 350, is out of place here. I conjecture *RESVLtat*; the bow leaps back when the old man tries to draw it. For the loss of *l* compare note on IV 215 supra.

VI 307 sqq.

contra sic uictor adacto  
ense refert: 'genitor, turpi durare senecta

quem mihi reris adhuc, ipse hac occumbere dextra  
maluit atque ultro segnes abrumpere metas.'

No intelligible sense can be extracted from *metas*. Langen read *telas* 'web.' But the metaphor of 'spinning' not 'weaving' is required in this connexion. I conjecture that *metas* has come from *NETVS*. So rare a word—it is not found again till Martianus Capella (2. 114)—would be very likely to be corrupted. I take this opportunity of observing that in l. 306 the emendation of Koestlin 'et si tibi natus, parce meo,' adopted by Langen, for the MS. 'et sicubi, nato parce meo' is quite mistaken and indeed imports incoherence into the whole passage. It is clear that Aquites is praying for his own life and the words mean 'have pity on the feelings of my son.' The text of the whole passage is the feelings of the son to the father that are in question. Aquites urges the outrage which his murder would do to his son's feelings. His enemy retorts that if his son had had a proper filial feeling, he would have killed his father long ago.

VI 343 sq.

ac simul Oenides pariterque Menoetius et qui  
Bebrycio propius remeavit ab hospite uictor.

For V's *propius* the Bologna edition gives *pollux*, Baehrens *nuper*, Langen *sospes*, no one of which is either vigorous or palaeographically probable. *propius* seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of an abbreviation of *PRIMVS*.

VI 410 sqq.

non tam foeda uirum Laurentibus agmina terris  
eiecere Noti, Libyco nec talis imago  
litore cum fractas inuoluunt aequora puppes.

*inuoluunt*, 'swallow up,' plainly cannot stand, as the scene is that of shipwrecks *on the shore*; *Aduoluunt* is required. The two prepositions are often confused.

VI 696 sqq.

ipse *pharetratis* residens ad frena tapetis  
nunc leuis infesto procurrit in agmina curru,  
nunc fuga conuersas spargit mentita sagittas.



|  |     |
|--|-----|
| at uiridem gemmis et Eoae stamine siluae<br>subligat extrema patrium ceruice tiaran,   | 700 |
| insignis manicis, insignis acinace dextro;<br>improba barbaricae procurrunt tegmina plantae.<br>nec latuere diu saeuam spolia illa Syenen;<br>perque leuem et multo maculatam murice tigrin<br>concita cuspis abit: subitos ex ore cruores       | 705 |
| saucia tigris agit uitamque effundit erilem;<br>ipse puer fracto pronum caput implicat arcu.<br>sanguine tunc atro chlamys ignea, sanguine uultus<br>et grauidae maduere comae quas flore Sabaeo<br>nutrierat liquidoque parens signauerat auro. | 710 |

It was necessary to give in full this description of the death of the Parthian envoy Myraces, as, before we can deal with its difficulties, all its details must be presented. No one has succeeded in finding for *pharetratis*—*tapetis* any sense which the Latin will bear. To explain it as meaning 'the rugs on which the prince's quiver was lying' is the refuge of despair. Wagner cut the knot by reading *pharetratus*, upon which Langen justly observes that we expect an epithet with *tapetis*. Prof. Ellis (in the *Classical Review*, 1900, p. 157) shares this opinion and conjectures *figuratis* which, apart from its palaeographical improbability, involves a sense of the word which he does not support, nor can I.

It will be best to begin with the latter part of the description. In 704 sqq. Valerius represents Myraces as wounded through a *tigris* which he was wearing, and through whose open mouth, to reproduce the poetical conceit, its master's life ebbed away. What was this *tigris*, and whence does it so suddenly appear upon the scene? Langen thinks it was a 'tiger skin'; and if the skin had been worn, as we know such spoils of the chase were often worn, with the warrior's head in the dead beast's jaws, and if Myraces had been struck in the face, the description would have been intelligible. But this is not the case, as from 699 sq. we see Myraces' head was enveloped in a gorgeous turban. Besides, we have to reckon with *leuem* and 'multo maculatam murice.' Why should a

tiger skin be called 'light' or 'mobile,' or have been dyed purple? But if the *tigris* was not a tiger skin, what was it? It must be observed here that the word can mean *nothing but* a tiger skin, *unless* another sense has already been suggested by the context. A passage of Plautus comes opportunely to our assistance. He has, *Pseudolus* 145 sqq., 'ita ego uostra latera loris faciam ut ualide uaria sint | ut ne peristromata quidem aequae picta sint Campanica | neque Alexandria *beluata* tonsilia *tapetia*.' Here we see *tapetia* covered with figures of animals. In *Stichus* 378 'Babylonica peristromata, *conchyliata tapetia*,' cf. Cicero *Verr.* iv. § 27 'conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peristromatis,' we see them dyed in purple. Their connexion with the far East is vouched for by the epithet *Babylonica*, and by Aristophanes *Ran.* 937 οὐδ' ἱππαλεκτρύονας μὰ Δι' οὐδέ τραγελάφους ἄπερ σύ, | ἄν τοῖς παραπετάσμασιν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς γράφουσι (Lorenz on Plautus *Pseud.* l.c. where these passages are collected). The *Pseudolus* quotation and Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 8. 74 show moreover that the chief manufactory of such stuffs was at *Alexandria*; and if a mention of this city had preceded, a reference to them, as in *tigris*, would be understood, but hardly otherwise. Now *Alexandria* and its derivatives were hardly possible to a writer of hexameter verse; but *Pharos* and its derivatives were available. Hence I conclude that the first half of *pharetratis* conceals *Phari*. It remains to examine the second half. *uariis* at once suggests itself, and might claim acceptance but for a single circumstance. *tapetis* (*tapetum*), the name of stuffs, whose chief employment was for sofa covers, hangings and horsecloths, was not likely without more ado to be applied to the coverings of the human frame. It may have been used in a depreciatory sense of the barbaric envelope as Juvenal speaks of the praetor's cumbrous vestment as *aulaea togae* (10. 39). But we require some hint that *tapetis* does not mean an ordinary coverlet, wrapping, or drugget. We have moreover to bring *leuem* into line with the rest of the description. I accordingly believe that *phare-tratis* conceals *PHARI RARIS*, this adjective being a well-known epithet of light textures. Valerius, as so often, is building on Virgil's foundations. The passage here regarded is *Aen.* 11. 768 sqq.,



the incident of Camilla and Chloreus. Amongst numerous, if concealed, reminiscences it may be noticed that Chloreus was dressed in a light stuff; 'sinusque crepantes | carbaseos.'

VII 40 sq.

quis regum Pelias, quis Thessalus aut quae  
Graecia? quodnam hominum cerno genus?

Heinsius condemned *cerno* as an interpolation and thought that *Minyae* had fallen out after *hominum*. It seems however an unlikely word to have been selected as a stopgap, and it is possible that *nam hominum* itself conceals *MINYVM*. *Ceteris paribus*, I should prefer the reading of Heinsius: but in these matters one may easily be swayed too much by a personal inclination.

VII 55 sqq.

ante meus caesa descendet Caucasus umbra  
ac prior Haemonias repetet super aequora praedas  
aut ego quam uittis statui feralibus Hellen.

A notorious crux; and, save for Koestlin's *quam* for *cum*, corrected so unsatisfactorily that we need not cite previous proposals. On *prior* Langen observes with justice 'nec apte praedas repetere dicitur qui prior praedam petit.' This difficulty is easily removed by reading *PRIVS*, these two terminations being frequently confused. The general sense of the three lines is clear. Aeetes is in a blazing passion and scouts the idea of his letting the fleece go as an utter impossibility. Could this not be fitly expressed as follows: 'Sooner shall Caucasus be stripped of its giant forests' (whose magnitude was proverbial; cf. Prop. I. 14. 6 'urgetur quantis Caucasus arboribus') 'to build a fleet with which the dead and canonised Helle shall plunder the coasts of Greece'? We should secure this if we read *HANC* for *aut*. While speaking the word, Aeetes would point to a figure of Helle in the hall draped with the *vittae ferales*. For corruption in the first letters of a line see above on III 134.

VII 133 sqq.

fata uirum si iam suprema ferebant,  
iussus ad ignotos potius foret ire tyrannos,  
o utinam, et tandem non hac moreretur in urbe!



This passage has been injured by a vicious punctuation, which I have removed by placing commas after *tyrannos*, where the vulgate has a longer stop, and after *utinam*. The idiomatic *tandem* should not be tampered with.

VII 165 sqq.

quin illa sacro, quo freta ueneno,  
illum etiam totis adstantem noctibus anguem  
qui nemus omne suum quique aurea (respice porro)  
uellera tot spiris circum, tot ductibus implet,  
insomnem in somnos ingenti soluat ab orno.

*illa*—*illum* is, of course, intolerable, and *illa* has generally been changed: but *IPSVM* seems a somewhat more probable alteration. In the last line I have printed Bury's ingenious *insomnem* for *soluat et*, though it cannot be called absolutely certain.

VII 186 sqq.

uolucrum Iuno aspicit Irin  
festinamque iubet monitis parere Diones  
et iuuenem Aesonium praedicto sistere luco.

*aspicit* was emended by Baehrens not very happily to *arripit*. I think it must have come from *ADCIET* or *ADCIIT*, between which I cannot decide. There is a similar doubt between the present and the perfect at Silius Italicus 13. 368 'sontes | acciet et iusta punit commissa securi' where Bauer reads *acciet* with the MSS. but most editors *accit*.

VIII 21 sqq.

attonito qualis pede prosilit Ino  
in freta nec meminit parui conterrita nati  
quem tenet; extremum coniunx ferit inritus Isthmon.

*ferit* is inadmissible; but neither Columbus' *petit* nor Heinsius' *premit* nor the same scholar's *extremo c. furit i. Isthmo* (V having *sihmo*) carry any conviction. Change a letter and read *rerit*. The word is chosen to give the useless movements to and fro of the despairing husband.

VIII 397 sqq.

namque datum hoc fatis, trepidus supplexque canebat  
Mopsus, ut in seros irent magis ista nepotes  
atque alius lueret tam dira incendia raptor.

The corruption of *magis ista* is indubitable, but its correction far from certain. The subject is the feud of Europe and Asia, and *iret LIS ista*, 'ground of dispute,' appears possible. *iret—ira* has also been suggested. If this be right, *GRAVIS* must be read for *magis*: and this solution may seem preferable to some.

J. P. POSTGATE.

P.S. I understand that *quod Minyum* (VII 41) had also occurred to Prof. Bury.

## MILTON AND THE ARISTOTELIAN DEFINITION OF TRAGEDY.

ALL who have studied the history of the Catharsis controversy are aware that Milton has to be recognized as one of the precursors of Weil and Bernays, and that a pathological interpretation of *κάθαρσις* is implied in the well-known passage which forms the opening of the preface to *Samson Agonistes* :—

‘Tragedy, as it was antiently composed, hath been ever held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems ; therefore said by Aristotle to be of power by raising pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of those and such like passions ; that is to temper and reduce them to just measure with a kind of delight, stirred up by reading or seeing those passions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his assertion ; for so in physic things of melancholic hue and quality are used against melancholy, sour against sour, salt to remove salt humours.’

On this Bernays (*Zwei Abh.* p. 95) remarks with pardonable satisfaction, ‘Das homöopathische Gleichniss zeigt, wie nahe er dem Richtigen war.’ As the language of Milton’s illustration has, if I am not mistaken, a Helmontistic colouring, the actual form of his statement may very well be his own. The great interest it has for us is in the evidence it supplies that in Milton’s view the Aristotelian *κάθαρσις παθημάτων* was to be conceived as analogous to a bodily process, that the term was borrowed from medicine rather than religion, and that it meant ‘purgatio’ in its medical sense, and not, as Heinsius and Goulston had supposed, in its ceremonial sense of ‘lustratio’ or ‘expiatio’—in other words that a great poet found no difficulty



in accepting the initial assumption of the pathological interpretation of *κάθαρσις*, and did not regard it as unworthy of Aristotle or beneath the dignity of Tragedy.

How did Milton come by this theory of Aristotle's meaning? The question, so far as I am aware, has never been raised, but it invites discussion, unless one is prepared to believe him to have had no predecessors, and to have arrived at the above view by independent study of the Aristotelian texts.

One thing may certainly be said of his interpretation: he did not find it in any of the ordinary versions of or commentaries on the Poetics. From Valla downwards the translators had agreed in representing *κάθαρσις* by 'purgatio' or 'expiatio' or 'lustratio,' or by some equivalent periphrasis. The rendering 'expiatio' or 'lustratio' was introduced by Heinsius (1610) and Goulston (1623), who probably got it from Lambinus, but it is obvious that it must have been current in Italy even before the publication of Lambinus' version of the Politics (1567), as it is assumed in the paraphrase of the Aristotelian definition which appears in an Italian work of earlier date, the *De Poeta* of A. S. Minturnus (p. 63), printed in Venice in 1559:—

‘*ut...animum a perturbationibus expiet.*’

Though a translation may often be evasive and not imply any very precise idea of the sense, I think it is pretty clear that the early translators must have taken *κάθαρσις* to mean 'purification'; that their usual rendering 'purgatio' was intended to have that sense; and that 'expiatio' and 'lustratio' were nothing but verbal improvements, which did not involve anything of the nature of a new view of the meaning of the term. The same impression is left on one by the notes of the various commentators of this period; in spite of their differences and jealousies they all manage to come round to one and the same conclusion, that the passions, or certain of them, are in some way or other 'purified' by Tragedy; they have apparently no notion of any other interpretation, or of any other possible justification of the existence of Tragedy. Most of them are duly aware of the passage in Pol. 8. 7,

1341<sup>b</sup> 32, but they seem to quote it only for purposes of illustration, as an interesting parallel, without any serious attempt to analyse it, or take it as the starting-point of their interpretation of the formula in the Poetics.

As soon as one turns to the Politics, however, one is not a little surprised to see that the interpretation of *κάθαρσις*, instead of always running in the same groove, as it does in the editions of the Poetics, is a point on which there is a wholesome diversity of opinion. The first rendering of the term, as used by Aristotle in Bk. VIII., was 'purificatio.' This is the word adopted by William of Morbeka, and afterwards by Aretinus; and it survives in the semi-scholastic Sylvester Maurus (1668), no doubt through its having been sanctioned and canonized by the great name of Aquinas. In the course of the 16th cent., however, it was supplanted by one or other of the following words, 'purgatio,' 'curatio,' 'lustratio,' or 'expiatio.' 'Curatio' appears as early as 1554 in Strebée's version, e.g. in his version of Pol. 8. 6, 1341<sup>a</sup> 22 :—

*'Hac igitur utendum temporibus iis quibus spectaculum κάθαρσις, id est curationem affectuum, potius quam disciplinam inducere potest.'*

It is certainly not a very exact rendering for *κάθαρσις*, but it leaves us in no doubt as to one thing, the medical sense that Strebée must have attached to the term. The same view was taken by another translator of the same period, a scholar of much greater mark and importance than Strebée, the famous Spanish Aristotelian, Genesius Sepulveda. His Latin for Pol. 8. 6, 1341<sup>a</sup> 22 is as follows :—

*'Itaque iis temporibus utendum est tibi in quibus spectaculum ad purgationem magis quam ad disciplinam valet,'*

—on which he has a note, to remove any ambiguity there may be in this use of 'purgatio':—

*'Purgatio intelligitur expulsio cuiuspiam affectus, ut metus, exempli gratia, vel misericordiae, quod per quosdam cantus vehementes efficitur.'*

Here 'expulsio' may possibly be a reminiscence of Horace's



use of 'expellere' in Epp. 2. 2. 137. Be this as it may, Sepulveda's version is clearly that of one who wished to give *κάθαρσις* a quasi-medical sense, and was under no temptation to give it the religious or ceremonial sense of 'expiatio' or 'lustratio,' which has been so often attached to the word both in his own and in later times. A much more definite anticipation, however, of what we now term the pathological interpretation of *κάθαρσις* is to be seen in another work on the Politics of a somewhat later date than Sepulveda's version. I have before me the Italian paraphrase of Scaino—'La Politica di Aristotile ridotta in modo di Parafrasi dal Rev. Antonio Scaino da Salo' (Rome 1578)<sup>1</sup>, and find him giving the following as his impression of the sense and argument of Pol. 8. 7, 1342<sup>a</sup> 5 sqq.:—

*'Perche non è gia da dubitare, che quelle passioni dell' animo, le quali molto segnalate appariscono in alcuni, non si trovino anchora in tutto 'l resto del genere humano; ben che alcuni huomini piu, & altri meno vengano predominati da cotali affetti; quali sono la misericordia, il timore, aggiungiamo l' entusiasmo, rauto delli spiriti principali agitati da moto terribile, che passa alle volte in furore; alla qual passione, per causa d' humor peccante, non ha dubbio che alcuni vi si trovano grandemente sottoposti; si come appare di coloro, i quali col mezzo de sacri canti, che s' usano per espiare & santificare l' anima, ne vengono quietati & tranquillati, quasi come per via di medicina ne fossero purgati: ilche convien che segua anchora de gl' altri huomini, che vanno soggetti, chi alla misericordia, & chi al timore, o a qualunque altra passione; i quali con l' uso di medicina appropriata all' humor peccante, ne vengono evacuati, sentendo piacere dell' alleggerimento, per la dissolutione, & evaporatione di quelli tanto vehementi affetti, che dianzi tenevano oppressi gli animi loro.'*

More important, however, for our purposes is his note (f. 219<sup>r</sup>), in which he incidentally shows how a theory of the tragic catharsis may be constructed on the same lines:—

<sup>1</sup> In Scaino Bks. vii—viii are placed immediately after Bk. iii. He had already discussed this point in a little

quarto, 'Antonii Scaini Salodiens: in octo Arist. libros qui extant de repub. quaestiones' (Rome 1577).



'... pare che, per mezo della musica, la purgatione delle passioni dell' animo s' habbi ad effettuare in questa guisa: cioè, che si come nelle medicine evacuanti s' osserva talhora d' applicar cosa, che sia conforme all' humor peccante per disporlo, & attrarlo in questo modo ad uscir del corpo, il quale si rende poi scarico di questo mal affetto, si come il reobarbaro in questa guisa purga la colera: cosi ancho ne gli affetti ridondanti dell' animo, quasi come medicina, havra forza una strampellata (per dir cosi) harmonia, che sia conforme al affetto peccante di purgar gli animi, che sono molto ripieni d' humore, dissolvendosi con l' aggiunta del furore concitato di vantaggio dalla musica entusiastica... la passione interna; per non potersi piu oltre mantener insieme una tanta gran massa di humore, o colerico, o incontinente, o d' altra sorte ch' egli si sia: di che trovandosi poi gl' huomini scarichi, rimangono, come purgati che ne vengono, piu quieti quanto alle passioni interne dell' animo; in quella guisa, che pare che Aristotile nel libro della poetica, trattando della tragedia, supponga che in essa mediante la paura & la misericordia, che si eccita con la rappresentatione de fatti, et casi altrui horribili, et miserabili, et col mezo del soave parlare, che mollifica gli animi de gli uditori, si venga in essi a purgare, & a moderare il soverchio dell' humor peccante in simile qualita, & a recare con questo tal alleviamento una certa tranquillita & dolcezza a gli animi delli spettatori, che si fanno in questa guisa scarichi di quelle passioni, che dianzi gli molestavano... Dove è d' avvertire, che dicendo Aristotile che al cervello & all' inclinatione de mechanici & plebei si deve accomodar la musica, che sia conforme all' humore in che peccano; ci da di qua chiaramente ad intendere, che in questo modo, a simiglianza delle medicine purgative de gli humori peccanti del corpo per ragion di simpatia, si faccian anche le purgationi de gli affetti dell' animo.'

It is not easy to follow the windings of Scaino's long and embarrassed periods. Any one, however, who has the patience to do that must see that he has given us a fairly complete view of the Aristotelian *κάθαρσις*, and that his interpretation is in its essentials identical with that of Weil and Bernays and their followers. (1) His primary assumption is that the

emotions are analogous to the humours, and under certain circumstances to the peccant humours of the body; in other words he has perceived the 'humoral' theory underlying the Aristotelian statement quite as clearly as Doering (*Kunstlehre des Aristoteles*, p. 322) has done in our own time. (2) He supposes the cathartic music to act on a certain kind of peccant humour of the soul as a sort of 'medicina evacuante' or 'purgativa.' Similar terms are more than once used by M. Weil in his original paper (*Verhandlungen der zehnten Versammlung deutscher Philologen* (etc.) in *Basel*, p. 139). (3) The music is said to be a 'medicina conforme' or 'appropriata all' humor peccante,' and to work 'per ragion di simpatia'—an anticipation, I take it, of Milton's so-called homeopathic comparison. (4) The result of the process is said to be the relief of the soul from its burden of emotion and its restoration to peace and calm. Here the Italian 'scarichi' is a very direct anticipation of the 'erleichternde Entladung' of Bernays. All this relates primarily to the well-known passage in the *Politics* (8. 7, 1341<sup>a</sup> 32 sqq.) on the cathartic music; but it will be observed that Scaino is able to express the effect of Tragedy in very similar terms: Tragedy is said to stir up ('eccita') the emotions of pity and fear, and purge away their superabundance; and the result is a certain tranquillity of soul, as soon as the burden of emotion has been taken off. If Scaino had worked out his interpretation in detail by a formal discussion of the texts on which it was based, he would, I think, have left but little to be done by his Nineteenth-century successors.

Scaino must have been no inconsiderable figure among the Aristotelian scholars of his day, for he wrote on the *Ethics*, *Physics*, *Metaphysics* and *De Anima*, as well as on the *Politics*. It is very difficult, therefore, to account for the persistent neglect of his view of *κάθαρσις* by the whole tribe of professional interpreters of the *Poetics*, by his own countrymen Riccoboni (1587) and Beni (1613), just as much as by Heinsius and Goulston. His theory, however, seems to have outlived their conspiracy of silence, and to have met with some acceptance at any rate in Italy. I infer this from the fact that in the early years of the following century a view indistinguishable



from Scaino's is to be found in a work by Tarquinio Galluzzi, one of the lights of the Jesuit order of this period. As he was Rector of the Greek College at Rome from 1631 to 1649, Galluzzi must have been living and teaching at Rome in 1638, the year we remember as that of Milton's Italian journey.

Galluzzi's interpretation of *κάθαρσις* has been overlooked by Doering and others, no doubt through the accident of its being hidden away in a volume with the somewhat unpromising title, 'Tarquinii Gallutii Sabini e societate Iesu Virgilianae Vindicationes & Commentarii tres de Tragoedia Comoedia Elegia' (Rom. 1621). The affinity between his view and that of Scaino may be seen from the following passage in his Chapter on the 'End of Tragedy' (p. 251):—

*'Cum ex definitione intelligitur, id Tragoediae propositum esse, ut duos illos animi nostri purget affectus, commiserationem, ac metum, videndum erit, quibus potissimum praesidiis id consequatur. Sed tamen ante constituamus oportet, quid sit, affectus, sive morbos animi purgare. Explanavit hoc Arist. ipse in Politicorum octavo lib. cap. vii. Ubi cum pronunciasset, Musicam purgandis affectibus utilem esse, quid eo purgationis nomine intelligi vellet, ita declaravit. Nam affectus, inquit, qui animos movent, omnibus insunt; differunt tamen eo, quod alios magis, alios minus exagitant, ut misericordia, & metus; atque adeo etiam furor. nam huic quoque commotioni nonnulli obnoxii sunt, quos cantibus sacris sedari videmus, veluti purgationem nactos, & medicinam. Haec ille. quibus significat, in affectibus animi nostri exuperantiam quandam esse, ei plane similem, quae in corporis humoribus est, cum incommoda valetudine laboramus. Quemadmodum ergo medicamentorum vi absterguntur humores, & aegrotantium corpora ea levantur exuperantia, quae procreat morbos, sic affectus vehementissimi, & quodammodo redundantes abstergi, purgariq. possunt adeo, ut animus omni prorsus aegrotatione liberetur. Id igitur ait Aristoteles Tragoediam agere, ac veluti finem intueri: ut sicut affecta corpora purgatis, atque abstersis curantur humoribus, ita animum sanet ipsa, duobus affectibus nominatim, commiseratione, ac metu purgatis, hoc est, ab ea liberatis exuperantia, a qua animi quaedam aegrotatio promanabat.'*



My only reason for thus quoting Galluzzi is in order to show that a pathological theory of the effect of Tragedy was certainly not unknown in Italy in Milton's time ; it is hardly worth while to speculate as to how Milton himself may have come to know of it—whether from a book or through conversation with some learned friend of his in Rome or elsewhere. The truth is that some such theory seems to have long been in the air in Italy. In proof of this I may perhaps be permitted to give one more quotation from Italian literature, this time however from a well-known Italian classic, the *Galateo* (1558) of Giovanni della Casa :—

*'Quantunque, secondo che io udii già dire ad [da?] un valente huomo nostro vicino, gli huomini habbiamo molte volte bisogno sì di lagrimare, come di ridere: & per tel cagione egli affermava essere state da principio trovate le dolorose favole, che si chiamarone Tragedie; accio che raccontate ne theatri, come in quel tempo si costumava di fare; tirassero le lagrime a gli occhi di coloro, che haveano di ciò mestiere; & così eglino piangendo della loro infirmità guarissero'* (f. 12<sup>v</sup>, ed. 1559).

—Or as the old Elizabethan translator of the *Galateo* puts it :—

*'Albeit not long since I heard it said to [?] a worthy gentleman our neighbour that men have many times more need to weepe then to laugh. And for that cause, he said, those dolefull tales which we call tragedies were devised at first, that when they were plaid in the Theatres (as at that time they were wont) they might draw fourth tears out of their eyes, that had need to spend them. And so they were by their weeping healed of their infirmitie.'*

The view which Casa is reproducing in this passage is certainly very far removed from the conventional justification of Tragedy current in his time ; it is in fact only the therapeutic interpretation of *κάθαρσις παθημάτων* in a slightly altered form, and as such, it may very well be regarded as a reminiscence of the teaching of some nameless forerunner of Scaino and Galluzzi. Some such interpretation, therefore, must have been already in existence in Italy even in the days of Casa. Without insisting on this, however, I think the

Further evidence to which I have drawn attention may suffice to show that the Bernaysian theory had been to a certain extent anticipated by more than one Italian scholar, and that Milton does not stand so completely alone among the precursors of Bernays as is usually supposed. His words in the preface to *Mason Agonistes* are no proof of his having broken ground himself, or excogitated a new interpretation of the Aristotelian text.

I. BYWATER.

## HERMAS AND CEBES.

FROM a comparison of *Hermae Pastor* with *Cebetis Tabula*, as below, it appears that the *Tabula* is one of the principal sources of the *Pastor*. This discovery (as it seems to me) was made some years ago by a contributor to the JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, whose name will be given in the conclusion to this article.

### A. CEBETIS TABULA.

#### § 1. LINES 1—55.

In quoting *Cebetis Tabula* we shall use Mr Jerram's edition (Clarendon Press, 1878), in which there are 681 numbered lines of Greek Text, followed by 40 lines of Latin without numbers from a translation of "an Arabic paraphrase of the ninth or tenth century A.D." Of chapters or sections there are 43, the first of which is introductory narrative. Some visitors see ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου ἱερῷ (1) a Πίναξ with a strange device (γραφή) which they cannot make out,

οὔτε γὰρ πόλις ἐδόκει ἡμῖν 5  
εἶναι τὸ γεγραμμένον οὔτε στρατόπεδον· ἀλλὰ περίβολος  
ἦν, ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχων ἑτέρους περιβόλους δύο, τὸν μὲν μείζω  
τὸν δὲ ἐλάττω. ἦν δὲ καὶ πύλη ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου περιβόλου  
πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ ὄχλος ἐδόκει ἡμῖν πολλὸς ἐφεστάναι.  
καὶ ἔνδον δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ πληθὺς τι γυναικῶν ἑωρᾶτο. 10  
ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ πρώτου πυλῶνος καὶ περιβόλου  
γέρων τις ἐφεστὼς ἔμφασιν ἐποίει, ὡς προστάττων τι τῷ  
εἰσιόντι ὄχλῳ.



Chap. II. introduces Senex (πρεσβύτης τις), who undertakes to explain the μυθολογία, and a dialogue follows between him and Hospes, one of the perplexed ξένοι. In chap. III. Senex remarks ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνόν τι ἔχει ἡ ἐξήγησις (32), and the dialogue proceeds thus,

Ξ. οἶον τί; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Π. ὅτι, εἰ μὲν προσέξετε, ἔφη, καὶ συνήσετε τὰ λεγόμενα, φρόνιμοι καὶ εὐδαίμονες ἔσεσθε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἄφρονες καὶ 35 κακοδαίμονες καὶ πικροὶ καὶ ἀμαθεῖς γενόμενοι, κακῶς βιώσεσθε. ἔστι γὰρ ἡ ἐξήγησις εἰκυῖα τῷ τῆς Σφιγγὸς αἰνίγματι, ὃ ἐκείνη προεβάλλετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ συνίη τις, ἐσώζετο· εἰ δὲ μὴ συνίη, ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τῆς Σφιγγὸς. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως 40 ἔχει ταύτης. ἡ γὰρ Ἀφροσύνη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις Σφίγξ ἐστίν. αἰνίττεται δὲ τάδε, τί ἀγαθὸν, τί κακόν, τί οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακόν ἐστίν ἐν τῷ βίῳ. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐὰν μὲν τις μὴ συνίη, ἀπόλλυται ὑπ' αὐτῆς· οὐκ εἰσάπαξ, ὥσπερ ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς Σφιγγὸς καταβρωθεὶς ἀπέθνησκεν· ἀλλὰ κατὰ 45 μικρὸν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ βίῳ καταφθείρεται. ἐὰν δέ τις γνῶ, ἀνάπαλιν ἡ μὲν Ἀφροσύνη ἀπόλλυται, αὐτὸς δὲ σώζεται, καὶ μακάριος καὶ εὐδαίμων γίγνεται ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ. ὑμεῖς οὖν προσέχετε, καὶ μὴ παρακούετε.

Thus he who solves the riddle of life by σύνεσις is saved (39). Want of understanding brings not immediate death (45), but a gradual καταφθορά, which may be arrested by knowledge (46).

## § 2. LINES 56—100.

The exposition of the γραφή begins in chap. IV. thus,

Π. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν ῥάβδον τινὰ, καὶ ἐκτείνας πρὸς τὴν γραφὴν· Ὁρᾷτε, ἔφη, τὸν περίβολον τοῦτον;

Ξ. ὁρῶμεν.

Π. τοῦτο πρῶτον δεῖ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς, ὅτι καλεῖται οὗτος ὁ τόπος Βίος. καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς ὁ παρὰ τὴν 60 πύλην ἐφεστῶς οἱ μέλλοντες εἰσπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὸν βίον οὗτοί εἰσιν. ὁ δὲ γέρων ὁ ἄνω ἐστηκὼς ἔχων χάρτην

τινὰ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ὥσπερ δεικνύων τι, οὗτος Δαίμων καλεῖται· προστάττει δὲ τοῖς εἰσπορευομένοις τί δεῖ αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν, ὥς ἂν εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὸν βίον· καὶ 65 δεικνύει, ποῖαν ὁδὸν αὐτοὺς δεῖ βαδίζειν, εἰ σώζεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

Chap. v. introduces Ἀπάτη on her throne, as a plausible looking woman with an affected manner, holding a cup in her hand (72), from which

Π. τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους εἰς τὸν βίον ποτίζει τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν.

Ξ. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἐστὶ τὸ ποτόν;

Π. Πλάνος, ἔφη, καὶ Ἄγνοια. 80

Chap. vi. All drink of it, but some more, some less (85). Within the gate are seen various other women,

Π. αὗται τοίνυν Δόξαι καὶ Ἐπιθυμιαί καὶ Ἥδοναι καλοῦνται. ὅταν οὖν εἰσπορεύηται ὁ ὄχλος, ἀναπηδῶσιν αὗται, καὶ πλέκονται πρὸς ἕκαστον, εἰτα ἀπάγουσι. 90

They lead them off, to be saved (σώζεσθαι) or to perish διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, with promises of happy and prosperous lives.

οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ τὸν πλάνον, ὃν πεπώκασιν παρὰ τῆς Ἀπάτης, οὐχ εὐρίσκουσι ποία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀληθινὴ ὁδὸς ἢ 98 ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ἀλλὰ πλανῶνται εἰκῇ.

### § 3. LINES 101—160.

In chap. vii. Fortune appears upon the scene, blind and standing ἐπὶ λίθου τινὸς στρογγύλου (103). She gives and takes away at random, the round rolling stone well symbolising her fickleness.

Chap. viii. A great crowd of Ἀπροβούλευτοι seek her favours, some δοκοῦντες χαίρειν, others κλαίειν (127). Her gifts are the things which most men think ἀγαθὰ (133).

Ξ. ταῦτ' οὖν τίνα ἐστί;

Π. πλοῦτος δηλονότι, καὶ δόξα, καὶ εὐγένεια, καὶ τέκνα, 135 καὶ τυραννίδες, καὶ βασιλεῖαι καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια.

The discussion of these being deferred (139), the description of the Πίναξ is proceeded with.

IX. Π. Ὅρᾱς οὖν, ὡς ἂν παρέλθῃς τὴν πύλην ταύτην, ἀνωτέρω ἄλλον περίβολον, καὶ γυναῖκας ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἐστηκυίας, κεκοσμημένας ὥσπερ ἑταῖραι εἰώθασι; 145

Ξ. καὶ μάλα.

Π. αὗται τοίνυν, ἥ μὲν Ἀκρασία καλεῖται, ἥ δὲ Ἀσωτία, ἥ δὲ Ἀπληστία, ἥ δὲ Κολακεία.

These watch for men who have received things from Τύχη, and spring upon them and embrace them, καὶ ἀξιούσι παρ' αὐταῖς μένειν (154). To the man whom they persuade εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἥδυνάθειαν (157) she is ἡδεῖα so long as he is under her spell, and no longer.

ὅταν γὰρ ἀνανήψῃ, αἰσθάνεται ὅτι οὐκ ἦσθιεν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς κατησθίετο καὶ ὑβρίζετο. 160

#### § 4. LINES 160—185.

At length, when they have spent all, παραδίδονται τῇ Τιμωρίᾳ (166).

Chap. x. Hospes asks ποία αὕτη;

Π. Ὅρᾱς ὀπίσω τι αὐτῶν, ἔφη, ἄνω ὥσπερ θυρίον μικρὸν, καὶ τόπον στενόν τινα καὶ σκοτεινόν;

Ξ. καὶ μάλα. 170

Π. οὐκοῦν καὶ γυναῖκες αἰσχυραὶ καὶ ῥυπαραὶ καὶ ῥάκη ἡμφιεσμέναι δοκοῦσι συνεῖναι;

Ξ. καὶ μάλα.

Π. αὗται τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἥ μὲν τὴν μάστιγα ἔχουσα καλεῖται Τιμωρία· ἥ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχουσα, 175 Λύπη· ἥ δὲ τὰς τρίχας τίλλουσα ἑαυτῆς, Ὀδύνη.

Near them stand Ὀδυρμός and his sister Ἀθυμία (180).

τούτοις οὖν παραδίδονται, καὶ μετὰ τούτων συμβιωῖ τιμωρούμενος. εἴτα ἐνταῦθα πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἕτερον οἶκον ῥίπτεται, εἰς τὴν Κακοδαιμονίαν, καὶ ὧδε τὸν 183



λοιπὸν βίον καταστρέφει ἐν πάσῃ κακοδαιμονίᾳ, ἐὰν μὴ ἡ  
Μετάνοια αὐτῷ ἐπιτύχη (?) συναντήσασα. 185

The oldest MS. is said to have ἀπὸ τύχῃ ἐκ προαιρέσεως συναντήσασα, but the editor omits ἐκ προαιρέσεως as "inconsistent with τύχῃ".

§ 5. LINES 186—239.

The next chapter describes the action of Μετάνοια, *alias* Μεταμέλεια (577).

XI. Ξ. εἴτα τί γίγνεται, ἐὰν ἡ Μετάνοια αὐτῷ συναντήσῃ;

Π. ἐξαίρει αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν κακῶν, καὶ συνίστησιν αὐτῷ  
ἐτέραν Δόξαν τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν ἄγουσαν,  
ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν Ψευδοπαιδείαν καλουμένην. 190

Ξ. εἴτα τί γίγνεται;

Π. ἐὰν μὲν, φησὶ, τὴν Δόξαν ταύτην προσδέξηται, τὴν  
ἄξουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν, καθαρθεὶς  
ὑπ' αὐτῆς σώζεται, καὶ μακάριος καὶ εὐδαίμων γίγνεται  
ἐν τῷ βίῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάλιν πλανᾶται ὑπὸ τῆς Ψευ- 195  
δοδοξίας.

Chap. XII. Senex points out Ψευδοπαιδεία standing ἔξω at the εἴσοδος (201) of the second enclosure.

Π. ταύτην τοίνυν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ εἰκαῖοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν  
Παιδείαν καλοῦσιν· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ, ἀλλὰ Ψευδοπαιδεία, ἔφη. 205  
οἱ μέντοι σωζόμενοι, ὁπόταν βούλονται εἰς τὴν Ἀληθινὴν  
Παιδείαν ἐλθεῖν, ὧδε πρῶτον παραγίγνονται.

Ξ. πότερον οὖν ἄλλη ὁδὸς οὐκ ἦν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀληθινὴν  
Παιδείαν ἄγουσα;

Π. οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη. 210

XIII. Ξ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ ἔσω τοῦ περιβόλου  
ἀνακάμπτοντες, τίνες εἰσὶν;

Π. οἱ τῆς Ψευδοπαιδείας, ἔφη, ἐρασταὶ, ἡπατημένοι, καὶ  
οἰόμενοι μετὰ τῆς Ἀληθινῆς Παιδείας συνομιλεῖν.

Her deluded ἐρασταί are Poets, Μουσικοί (217), Ἡδονικοί (218), καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τούτοις εἰσὶ παραπλήσιοι (220).

Chap. xiv. The same women, who seem περιτρέχειν (221), including Ἀκρασία and the Δόξαι, find their way into the second enclosure, σπανίως δὲ (226) καὶ οὐχὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ; for the potion of Deceit remains in men,

καὶ ἡ ἄγνοια μένει ἐν τούτοις, νῆ Δία, 230  
καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς γε ἡ ἀφροσύνη· καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀπέλθῃ  
ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐθ' ἡ δόξα οὐθ' ἡ λοιπὴ κακία, μέχρις ἂν  
ἀπογόνοντες τῆς Ψευδοπαιδείας εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀληθινὴν  
ὁδόν, καὶ πίωσι τὴν τούτων καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν.

Then, ὅταν καθαρθῶσι (235), οὕτω σωθήσονται (237). But those who stay with Ψευδοπαιδεία will fare none the better for all their μαθήματα (239).

# § 6. LINES 240—289.

Chap. xv. Ποία ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ Ἀληθινῆ Παιδείας? 240

Π. ὁρᾷς ἄνω, ἔφη, τόπον τινὰ ἐκείνον, ὅπου οὐδεὶς  
ἐπικατοικεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔρημος δοκεῖ εἶναι;

Ξ. ὁρῶ.

Π. οὐκοῦν καὶ θύραν τινὰ μικράν, καὶ ὁδόν τινα πρὸ 245  
τῆς θύρας, ἥτις οὐ πολὺ ὀχλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι πάνυ  
πορεύονται, ὥσπερ δι' ἀνοδίας τινὸς καὶ τραχείας καὶ  
πετρώδους εἶναι δοκούσης;

Ξ. καὶ μάλα, ἔφην.

Π. οὐκοῦν καὶ βουνὸς τις ὑψηλὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ ἀνά- 250  
βασίς στενὴ πάνυ, καὶ κρημνοὺς ἔχουσα ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν  
βαθεῖς;

Ξ. ὁρῶ.

Π. αὕτη τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς, ἔφη, ἡ ἀγούσα πρὸς τὴν  
Ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν. 255

It looks μάλα χαλεπὴ, and on the top of the hill one sees  
πέτραν τινὰ μεγάλην καὶ ὑψηλὴν καὶ κύκλῳ ἀπόκρημνον (258).

xvi. Π. Ὅρᾷς οὖν καὶ γυναῖκας δύο ἐστηκυίας ἐπὶ 260  
τῇ πέτρῳ, λιπαράς καὶ εὐεκτούσας τῷ σώματι, καὶ ὡς  
ἐκτετάκασιν τὰς χεῖρας προθύμως;

Ξ. ὁρῶ· ἀλλὰ τίνες καλοῦνται, ἔφην, αὗται;

Π. ἡ μὲν, Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται· ἔφη· ἡ δὲ, Καρτερία·  
εἰσὶ δὲ ἀδελφαί. 265

Ξ. τί οὖν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτετάκασιν οὕτω προθύμως;

Π. παρακαλοῦσιν, ἔφη, τοὺς παραγινομένους ἐπὶ τὸν  
τόπον θαρρεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀποδειλιᾶν, λέγουσαι ὅτι βραχὺ  
ἔτι δεῖ καρτερῆσαι αὐτοὺς, εἴτα ἥξουσιν εἰς ὁδὸν καλήν.

Ξ. ὅταν οὖν παραγένωνται ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, πῶς ἀνα- 270  
βαίνουσιν; ὁρῶ γὰρ ὁδὸν φέρουσαν οὐδεμίαν ἐπ' αὐτήν.

Π. αὗται ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ προσκαταβαίνουσι, καὶ  
ἔλκουσιν αὐτοὺς ἄνω πρὸς αὐτάς. εἴτα κελεύουσιν αὐτοὺς  
διαναπαύσασθαι καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν διδόασιν Ἴσχυν καὶ  
Θάρσος, καὶ ἐπαγγέλλονται αὐτοὺς καταστήσειν πρὸς τὴν 275  
Ἀθηναίαν Παιδείαν· καὶ δεικνύουσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν, ὡς  
ἔστι καλὴ τε, καὶ ὁμαλὴ, καὶ εὐπόρευτος καὶ καθαρὰ παντὸς  
κακοῦ, ὥσπερ ὁρᾷς.

Chap. XVII. Senex points out περίβολον ἕτερον (284) καὶ  
πύλην ἑτέραν. What is the place called?

Π. εὐδαιμόνων οἰκητήριον, ἔφη· ὧδε γὰρ διατρίβουσιν  
αἱ Ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι, καὶ ἡ Εὐδαιμονία. 288

### § 7. LINES 290—329.

Chap. XVIII. describes Παιδεία. She is καλή, and μέση καὶ  
κεκριμένη ἤδη τῇ ἡλικίᾳ (292), and simply dressed,

ἔστηκε δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ στοργγύλου λίθου,  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τετραγώνου, ἀσφαλῶς κειμένου. καὶ μετὰ ταύτης  
ἄλλαι δύο εἰσὶ, θυγατέρες τινὲς δοκοῦσαι εἶναι. 295

Ξ. ἐμφαίνεται οὕτως ἔχειν.

Π. τούτων τοίνυν ἡ μὲν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ Παιδεία ἐστίν· ἡ  
δὲ, Ἀλήθεια· ἡ δὲ, Πειθώ.

Ξ. τί δὲ ἔστηκεν ἐπὶ λίθου τετραγώνου αὕτη;

Π. σημείον, ἔφη, ὅτι ἀσφαλὴς τε καὶ βεβαία ἡ πρὸς 300  
αὐτὴν ὁδὸς ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις, καὶ τῶν διδομένων  
ἀσφαλὴς ἡ δόσις τοῖς λαμβάνουσι.

Her gifts are Θάρσος and Ἀφοβία, that is to say, ἐπιστήμη  
τοῦ μηδὲν ἄν ποτε δεινὸν παθεῖν (306) ἐν τῷ βίῳ.



Chap. XIX. But why does she stand έξω τοῦ περιβόλου?

Π. ὅπως τοὺς παραγιγνομένους, ἔφη, θεραπείη καὶ 310  
ποτίζη τὴν καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν. εἶθ', ὅταν καθαρθῶσιν,  
οὕτως αὐτοὺς εἰσάγει πρὸς τὰς Ἀρετάς.

Ξ. πῶς τοῦτο; ἔφην ἐγώ. οὐ γὰρ συνίημι.

Π. ἀλλὰ συνήσεις, ἔφη. ὥς ἂν, εἴ τις φιλοτίμως  
κάμνων ἐτύγχανε, πρὸς ἱατρὸν δήπου γενόμενος πρό- 315  
τερον καθαρτικοῖς ἂν ἐξέβαλε τὰ νοσοποιοῦντα· εἴτα οὕτως  
ἂν αὐτὸν ὁ ἱατρὸς εἰς ἀνάληψιν καὶ ὑγίειαν κατέστησεν· εἰ  
δὲ μὴ ἐπέειθετο οἷς ἐπέταττεν, εὐλόγως ἂν δήπου ἀπωσθεῖς  
ἐξώλετο ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου.

So men must be purged by her δύναμις from their ignorance  
and error imbibed from Deceit (327), and from all the evil  
qualities with which they were inoculated in the first enclosure.

§ 8. LINES 330—388.

XX. Ξ. ὅταν οὖν καθαρθῇ, ποῖ αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλει; 330

Π. ἔνδον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιστήμην καὶ πρὸς τὰς  
ἄλλας Ἀρετάς.

Ξ. ποίας ταύτας;

Π. οὐχ ὀρᾶς, ἔφη, ἔσω τῆς πύλης χορὸν γυναικῶν, ὥς  
εὐεидεῖς δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ εὐτακτοὶ, καὶ στολὴν ἀτρύφερον 335  
καὶ ἀπλὴν ἔχουσιν· ἔτι τε ὡς ἄπλαστοί εἰσι, καὶ οὐδαμῶς  
κεκαλλωπισμένοι καθάπερ αἱ ἄλλαι;

Ξ. ὁρῶ, ἔφην· ἀλλὰ τίνες αὐταὶ καλοῦνται;

Π. ἡ μὲν πρώτη Ἐπιστήμη, ἔφη, καλεῖται. αἱ δὲ  
ἄλλαι ταύτης ἀδελφαί, Ἀνδρεία, Δικαιοσύνη, Καλοκά- 340  
γαθία, Σωφροσύνη, Εὐταξία, Ἐλευθερία, Ἐγκράτεια,  
Πραότης.

These conduct him to the mother (351), Εὐδαιμονία, who  
sits ἐπὶ τοῦ προπυλαίου on a high throne, and crowned with a  
fine crown of flowers (360).

Chap. XXII. When one arrives, what does she do?

Π. στεφανοῖ αὐτὸν, ἔφη, τῇ ἑαυτῆς δυνάμει ἢ τε 365  
Εὐδαιμονία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι Ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι, ὥσπερ νενικηκότα  
τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας.

Ξ. καὶ ποίους ἀγῶνας νενίκηκεν αὐτός; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Π. τοὺς μεγίστους, ἔφη, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα θηρία, ἃ πρό-  
τερον αὐτὸν κατήσθιε, καὶ ἐκόλαζε, καὶ ἐποίει δοῦλον. 370  
ταῦτα πάντα νενίκηκε, καὶ ἀπέρριψεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ  
κεκράτηκεν ἑαυτοῦ, ὥστε ἐκεῖνα νῦν τούτῳ δουλεύουσι,  
καθάπερ οὗτος ἐκείνοις πρότερον.

These *θηρία* are the various forms of *Κακία* (381).

Π. πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, τὴν Ἄγνοιαν, καὶ τὸν Πλάνον. ἡ 376  
οὐ δοκεῖ σοι θηρία ταῦτα εἶναι;

Ξ. καὶ πονηρά γε, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Over them all he now *κρατεῖ* (381), καὶ οὐ *κρατεῖται* ὥσπερ  
πρότερον, and his hopes of happiness are no longer ἐν ἑτέροις,  
but ἐν αὐτῷ (388).

The Sphinx, as Ἄφροσύνη (41), which goes with Ἄγνοια  
(231), is κατ' ἐξοχὴν the μέγιστον θηρίον which has to be  
overcome.

#### § 9. LINES 389—523.

Chap. xxiv. When a man has been crowned, τί ποιεῖ, ἡ  
ποῖ βαδίζει; The Virtues take him back to the place whence  
he came, and shew him how wretchedly the people live there  
(393), under the power of Ἀκρασία, Ἀλαζονεία, Φιλαργυρία,  
Κενοδοξία (397), and the like, not being able τὴν ἐνθάδε ὁδὸν  
εὐρεῖν· ἐπελάθοντο γὰρ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Δαιμονίου πρόσταγμα (402).

Chap. xxv. Why do the Virtues shew him the place  
whence he came (405)? He formerly

Π. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ᾔδει οὐδὲ ἠπίστατο οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκεῖ,  
ἀλλ' ἐνεδοίαζε· καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν, καὶ τὸν πλάνον,  
ὃν δὴ ἐπεπῳκεῖ, τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἀγαθὰ ἐνόμιζεν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι,  
καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα κακὰ κακά. διὸ καὶ ἔζη κακῶς, ὥσπερ οἱ  
ἄλλοι οἱ ἐκεῖ διατρίβοντες. νῦν δὲ ἀπειληφῶς τὴν ἐπι- 410  
στήμην τῶν συμφερόντων, αὐτός τε καλῶς ζῇ, καὶ τούτους  
θεωρεῖ ὡς κακῶς πράττουσιν.

Chap. XXVI. Now he neither fears nor is troubled by the women called *θηρία* (420), as *Ὀδύνη*, *Λύπη*, *Ἀκρασία*, *Φιλαργυρία*, *Πενία*, but *ἀπάντων κυριεύει* (425).

Chap. XXVII. Some come back *ἀπὸ τοῦ βουνοῦ* crowned and shewing signs of joy,

οἱ δὲ, ἀστεφάνωτοι, λύπης καὶ ταραχῆς· καὶ τὰς κνήμας καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς 435  
δοκοῦσι τετρίφθαι, κατέχονται δὲ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τινῶν.

The uncrowned,

οἱ μὲν, ἀπεγνωσμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς Παιδείας, ἀνακάμπτουσι, κακῶς καὶ ἀθλίως διακείμενοι· οἱ δὲ, ἀπο- 440  
δεδειλιακότες καὶ οὐκ ἀναβεβηκότες πρὸς τὴν Καρτερίαν, πάλιν ἀνακάμπτουσι, καὶ πλανῶνται ἀνοδία.

*Λύπαι*, *Ἄγνοιαι*, and other evils follow them (446).

Chap. XXVIII. When they have come back to *Ἥδυνάθεια* and *Ἀκρασία*,

οὐχ ἑαυτοὺς αἰτιῶνται, 450  
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς κακῶς λέγουσι καὶ τὴν Παιδείαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείσε βαδίζοντας, ὡς ταλαίπωροι καὶ ἄθλιοί· εἰσι καὶ κακοδαίμονες, οἳ τὸν βίον τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπόντες κακῶς ζῶσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπολαύουσι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῶν.

The things they call good are *ἄσωτία* and *ἀκρασία*, ὡς εἶποι ἂν τις ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου (457).

Chap. XXIX. Among those come back are *Δόξαι*, who have conducted men to *Παιδεία* (461).

Ξ. πότερον οὖν, ἔφην ἐγὼ, αὐται εἴσω πρὸς τὰς Ἀρετὰς 465  
εἰσπορεύονται;

Π. οὐ γὰρ θέμις Δόξαν εἰσπορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιστήμην· ἀλλὰ τῇ Παιδείᾳ παραδιδόασιν αὐτούς. εἴτα, ὅταν ἡ Παιδεία παραλάβῃ, ἀνακάμπτουσιν αὐται πάλιν, ἄλλους ἄξουσιν· ὥσπερ αἱ νῆες, τὰ φορτία ἐξελόμεναι, 470  
πάλιν ἀνακάμπτουσιν, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν γεμίζονται.

Chap. XXX. What is it that προστάττει τὸ Δαιμόνιον τοῖς εἰσπορευομένοις εἰς τὸν βίον ποιεῖν.



Π. θαρρεῖν, ἔφη. διὸ καὶ ὑμεῖς θαρρεῖτε πάντα γὰρ 476  
 ὑμῖν ἐξηγήσομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν παραλείψω.

Chap. xxxi. Of Τύχη he bids men, ταύτη μὴ πιστεύειν.  
 and of her gifts, μηδὲ ὡς ἴδια ἡγεῖσθαι (486). She does  
 nothing μετὰ λογισμοῦ (492).

διὰ τοῦτο οὖν τὸ Δαιμόνιον  
 κελεύει μὴ θαυμάζειν ὃ τι ἂν πράττῃ αὕτη, μηδὲ γίνεσθαι  
 ὁμοίους τοῖς κακοῖς τραπεζítais. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, ὅταν 495  
 μὲν λάβωσι τὸ ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, χαίρουσι,  
 καὶ ἴδιον νομίζουσιν εἶναι. ὅταν δὲ ἀπαιτῶνται, ἀγανακ-  
 τοῦσι, καὶ δεινὰ οἶονται πεπονθέναι· οὐ μνημονεύοντες,  
 ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔλαβον τὰ θέματα, ἐφ' ᾧ μὴδὲν κωλύειν  
 τὸν θέμενον πάλιν κομίσασθαι. 500

Chap. xxxii. gives a short summary of men's right course  
 in life. After staying for a time with Ψευδοπαιδεία (518), they  
 are directed

λαβεῖν ὃ τι ἂν βούλωνται  
 παρ' αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἐφόδιον· εἵτα ἐντεῦθεν ἀπιέναι πρὸς 520  
 τὴν Ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν συντόμως. ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἃ προσ-  
 τάττει τὸ Δαιμόνιον. ὅστις τοίνυν παρ' αὐτά τι ποιεῖ, ἢ  
 παρακούει, ἀπόλλυται κακὸς κακῶς.

#### § 10. LINES 524—721.

Chapters xxxiii.—xlili. contain an epilogue led up to by  
 the words of Senex, Ὁ μὲν δὴ μῦθος, ὃ ξένοι, ὃ ἐν τῷ πίνακι  
 τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι προσπυθέσθαι περὶ ἐκάστου  
 τούτων, οὐδεὶς φθόνος· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν φράσω (526).

What is it that the Δαιμόνιον bids men take away with  
 them from Ψευδοπαιδεία (528)?

Π. γράμματα, ἔφη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαθημάτων ἃ καὶ  
 Πλάτων φησὶν ὡσανεὶ χαλινοῦ τινος δύναμιν ἔχειν τοῖς 532  
 νέοις, ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἕτερα περισπῶνται.

They are useful things in a way,

πρὸς δὲ τὸ βελτίους γενέσθαι οὐδὲν συμβάλλεται ταῦτα. 537

The learned are apt to be deceived about good and evil like other men (550). But why do they spend their time in the second enclosure, ὥσπερ ἐγγίζοντες πρὸς τὴν Ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν (561)? What (replies Senex) does that profit them, when one may often see men who have come from the first enclosure,

ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκρασίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κακίας εἰς τὸν τρίτον περιβόλον πρὸς τὴν Παιδείαν τὴν Ἀληθινὴν, οἱ τούτους 565 τοὺς μαθηματικούς παραλλάττουσιν; ὥστε, πῶς ἔτι προέχουσιν; ἄρα ἢ ἀκινήτοτεροι ἢ δυσμαθέστεροί εἰσι.

The men in the second enclosure sometimes προσποιούνται ἐπίστασθαι ἃ οὐκ (571) οἶδασιν, and so are slow to move on to Ἀληθινὴ Παιδεία (574). The Δόξαι enter there also,

ὥστε οὐδὲν οὗτοι ἐκείνων βελτίους εἰσὶν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τούτοις συνῇ ἡ Μεταμέλεια, καὶ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι 577 οὐ Παιδείαν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ψευδοπαιδείαν.

The things commonly assumed to be ἀγαθά (133) are now discussed, one of the conclusions being,

Π. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κακόν ἐστιν, εἴπερ αἵρε- 628 τώτερόν ἐστι πολλάκις τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τοῦ ζῆν.

About wealth it is concluded,

Π. οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν τις ἐπίσταται τῷ πλούτῳ χρῆσθαι 655 καλῶς καὶ ἐμπείρως, εὖ βιώνεται· εἰ δὲ μὴ, κακῶς.

Ξ. ἀληθέστατά μοι δοκεῖς τοῦτο λέγειν.

Ἐκ κακῶν cannot come ἀγαθόν (663). But wealth may come ἐκ κακῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν, as ἐκ τοῦ προδιδόναι (665), καὶ ἀποστερεῖν (666).

About the *nec bona nec mala* Hospes is "haud firmus in iudicio" (713). That is because he is not habituated to the thought. Therefore, continues Senex,

rerum usum, quem paulo ante vobis indicavi, toto vitae vestrae curriculo persequimini, ut ea quae vobis diximus infigantur animis vestris eaque re vobis accedat habitus. 718



Quodsi de aliquo istorum adhuc dubitaveritis, revertimini ad me, ut ea de re id ex me cognoscatis, cujus auxilio 720 dubitatio a vobis discedat.

Thus Κέβητος Πίναξ ends.

#### B. HERMAE PASTOR.

##### § 1.

The subsections §§ 1—10 in A and B correspond. The letter *c* denotes the text of *Cebetis Tabula*. The Visions, Mandates, and Similitudes of *Hermae Pastor* are quoted as *Vis.*, *Sim.*, *Mand.* and from Dr Harmer's text, for which see *The Apostolic Fathers* by the late Dr J. B. Lightfoot, ed. J. R. Harmer (1891).

The *Pastor* is constructed on the same lines as the *Tabula*. Properly speaking it consists of an introductory "Book of the Church" (*Vis.* i.—iv.), followed by the longer "Book of the Shepherd," which has for preface the so-called *Vis.* v. This in the Greek is Ἀποκάλυψις, not Ὅρασις. In "Cebes" an Introduction precedes the description of the Πίναξ (*c.* 56).

Like this Introduction the Book of the Church begins with some lines of narrative, Ὁ θρέψας με πέπρακέν με Ῥόδη τινὶ εἰς Ῥώμην, κ.τ.λ. Thus Hermas too is a ξένος. Afterwards there is dialogue also in the *Pastor*, the second speaker next after Rhoda being Ecclesia, who is πρεσβύτις.

*c.* 37—45 τῆς Σφυγγός] If *Hermae Pastor* is founded upon *Cebetis Tabula*, we may look for some allusion τῷ τῆς Σφυγγός αἰνίγματι in the *Pastor*. Two such allusions are pointed out below, namely in the Book of the Church, which corresponds to the part of the *Tabula* in which the Sphinx appears.

Hermas in *Vis.* i. 2 sees a great white chair (καθέδραν), and a γυνὴ πρεσβύτις comes and sits down on it. In *Vis.* ii. 1 he sees her again, this time περιπατοῦσαν καὶ ἀναγινώσκουσιν βιβλαρίδιον. In *Vis.* iii. 2 she sits on a bench (συμφέλιον). In the second and third visions she is younger and younger, but always has τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας (*Vis.* iii. 10. 3—5).



Her three *μορφαί* (c. 86, 122) are explained to him in *Vis.* iii. 11—13.

In the First Vision why did she appear as old and seated on a chair? Because your spirit was aged by your infirmities and doubts. But why was she seated on a chair? Because every *ἀσθενής* sits on a chair, *ἵνα συγκρατηθῇ ἡ ἀσθένεια τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ*. There thou hast the figure of the first vision.

In the Second Vision thou sawest her standing and looking younger, but with her flesh and hair *πρεσβυτέρας*. For as when a *πρεσβύτερος* who is looking only for the last day of his life suddenly hears that a *κληρονομία* has been left to him, and is very glad and puts on strength, and *οὐκέτι κάθηται ἀλλὰ ἀνδρίζεται*, so were ye when ye heard the revelation which was made to you. Your spirits revived and ye were strengthened in the faith.

Her appearance in the Third Vision is explained thus,

XIII. Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὁράσει εἶδες αὐτὴν νεωτέραν καὶ καλὴν καὶ ἰλαράν, καὶ καλὴν τὴν μορφήν αὐτῆς. 2. ὥς ἐάν γάρ τινι λυπούμενῳ ἔλθῃ ἀγγελία ἀγαθὴ τις, εὐθὺς ἐπελάθετο τῶν προτέρων λυπῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσδέχεται εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἣν ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἰσχυροποιεῖται λοιπὸν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἀνανεοῦται αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ἣν ἔλαβεν· οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνανέωσιν εἰλήφατε τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν ἰδόντες ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ. 3. καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ συμφελίου εἶδες καθημένην, ἰσχυρὰ ἡ θέσις· ὅτι τέσσαρας πόδας ἔχει τὸ συμφέλιον καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἔστηκεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται. 4. οἱ οὖν μετανοήσαντες ὁλοτελῶς νέοι ἔσονται καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι, οἱ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας μετανοήσαντες. ἀπέχεις ὁλοτελῆ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν· μηκέτι μηδὲν αἰτήσεις περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως, ἐάν τι δὲ δέῃ, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται σοι.

Hermas half reveals and half conceals the source of his symbolism. What could have been the connexion in his mind between the "four feet" and becoming young again? Obviously he was playing upon the riddle of the Sphinx,

Ἔστι δίπουν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τετράπον, οὗ μία φωνή,  
καὶ τρίπον· ἀλλάσσει δὲ φύην μόνον ὅσσ' ἐπὶ γαίαν

έρπετὰ κινεῖται ἀνά τ' αἰθέρα καὶ κατὰ πόντον.  
 ἀλλ' ὁπόταν πλείστοισιν ἐρειδόμενον ποσὶ βαῖνῃ,  
 ἔνθα τάχος γυίοισιν ἀφαιρότατον πέλει αὐτοῦ.

His description of the bench as tetrapod lets us know that the chair was meant to be a tripod, and in *Vis.* ii. the Church walks upon her own two feet. Her continuously white hair is a mark of personal identity which may allude to something in the riddle as known to Hermas, cf. οὐ μία φωνή. The word ἀνδρίζεται in *Vis.* iii. 12. 2 suits the enigma. The decrepit elder becomes a man again and δίπους. Hermas, with reference to the new birth, traces the three ages of man backwards. So elsewhere he disguises his allusions by inversion.

Again, in *Vis.* iv. he has an alarming adventure. Seeing θηρίον μέγιστον ὥσεί κῆτός τι approaching, he puts on the faith of the Lord and gives himself boldly to the beast; and, behold, τὸ τηλικούτο κῆτος ἐκτείνει ἑαυτὸ χαμαὶ καὶ οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ τὴν γλῶσσαν προέβαλλεν. In the *Tabula* the man who is to be crowned must first encounter τὰ μέγιστα θηρία (c. 369). Over these he prevails by σύνεσις and ἐπιστήμη, for which Hermas in his picture of Christian life naturally substitutes faith. His monster puts forth (προέβαλλεν) its tongue, as the Sphinx in Cebes puts forth (προεβάλλετο) her riddle. The word προβάλλειν does not recur in either work.

c. 49 (523) καὶ μὴ παρακούετε] *Vis.* iii. 7. 4 ἐτέλεσεν οὖν τὴν ἐξήγησιν (c. 32, 40) τοῦ πύργου. In *Vis.* iv. 2, after he has passed the θηρίον, the Church in bridal array meets Hermas, felicitates him on his saving faith, and ends with the warning, οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀκούσασιν τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ παρακούσασιν· αἰρετώτερον (c. 628) ἢν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γεννηθῆναι.

Hermas, obtrusively attentive and enquiring, with allusion to c. 53 f. ὡς ἡμῶν προσεξόντων οἱ παρέργως (c. 583 πάρεργα) ἐπέπερ καὶ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον τοιοῦτον ἐστίν (the last words of the Introduction), is called by the Church or the Shepherd πανούργος, αὐθάδης, περίεργος (*Vis.* iv. 3. 1, cf. c. 360 ἀπεριέργως).



## § 2.

The Πίναξ having been described in chap. i. of Cebes, the ἐξήγησις of it follows the prefatory remarks of Senex on the Sphinx. Hermas, as we shall see, makes some sort of use of everything noteworthy in the *Tabula* that he can contrive to bring into his Christian allegory.

In some cases where there is a question about the reading in *Cebetis Tabula* we shall refer to the critical edition of Carolus Praechter (Lips. 1893). Following Praechter, Mr Jerram has made "a few slight alterations" in the text in his abbreviated edit. 2 (1898), as συνίει (*bis*) for συνίη in c. 39.

c. 56 ῥάβδον τινά] Hermas and the Church having seated themselves upon the bench (*Vis.* iii. 2. 4), she ἐπάρασα ῥάβδον τινὰ λαμπρὰν λέγει μοι. Βλέπεις μέγα πρᾶγμα; At first he sees nothing, but afterwards he sees. Thus the pointer which Senex uses in describing the Πίναξ is converted into a magic wand with which the Church conjures up her mysterious vision of a great tower οἰκοδομούμενον ἐπὶ ὑδάτων λίθοις τετραγώνοις λαμπροῖς. What was this tower? ὁ μὲν πύργος ὃν βλέπεις οἰκοδομούμενον ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ Ἐκκλησία (*Vis.* iii. 3. 3).

Πύργος is used symbolically in the *Iliad*, cf. also ἀκρόπολις καὶ πύργος ἑών (*Theogn.*), ἐγενήθης πύργος (*LXX*).

c. 59 τοῦτο πρῶτον] With this beginning of the ἐξήγησις of the Πίναξ compare first the beginning of the commandments of the Shepherd, which answer to the unwritten commandment of the Δαίμων or Δαιμόνιον. In *Mand.* i. we discover a short practical summary of the teaching of the *Tabula*,

Πρῶτον πάντων πιστευσον ὅτι εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας, καὶ ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα, καὶ πάντα χωρῶν, μόνος δὲ ἀχώρητος ὢν. 2. πιστευσον οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ φοβήθητι αὐτόν, φοβηθεὶς δὲ ἐγκράτεσαι. ταῦτα φύλασσε καὶ ἀποβαλεῖς πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ καὶ ἐνδύσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιοσύνης καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ, ἐὰν φυλάξῃς τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην.



In terms of the μυθολογία of Cebes this would be, "Obey the πρόσταγμα of the Δαίμων (c. 12, 402, 474, 521), and let 'Εγκράτεια and her sister Καρτερία (c. 264, 272) bring thee on the way to 'Αληθινὴ Παιδεία and the abode of the blessed, where dwell αἱ 'Αρεταὶ πᾶσαι καὶ ἡ Εὐδαιμονία" (J. M. C.). The *Tabula* would have reminded Hermas of the saying in Theognis (quoted as a current παροιμία by Aristotle),

ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶς ἀρετὴ 'στιν.

Cf. *Mand.* vi. 1. 1 'Ενετειλάμην σοι, φησίν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐντολῇ... 2. 3 λαλεῖ μετὰ σοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης...καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἔργου δικαίου καὶ περὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνδόξου. *Sim.* vi. 1. 4 ἐνδυσάμενοι δὲ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιοσύνης. *Sim.* x. 1. 2 *omnem virtutem aequitatis.*

c. 60 Βίος] In turning the Πίναξ into a picture of Christian life it would be natural to take a hint from St Matthew xix. 17, "if thou wilt enter into life (ζωήν), keep the commandments." Hermas accordingly turns βίος into ζωή, using βιωτικός in a disparaging sense of the things of "this life," as in *Mand.* v. 2. 2. In the index to Hilgenfeld's *Hermas Pastor* (1881) there are fifteen lines of references to ζῆν τῷ θεῷ, ζωή, ζωοποιέω, cf. βίβλος τῆς ζωῆς, τῶν ζώντων. Notice in *Vis.* iii. 8. 4 and *Mand.* viii. 9 μακάριος ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ (c. 48, 194 μακάριος ἐν τῷ βίῳ). *Sim.* v. 6. 3 ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς τρίβους τῆς ζωῆς (Ps. xvi. 11).

c. 60—67 ὁ ὄχλος κ.τ.λ.] Hermas dilates upon this in his own Πίναξ, bringing in words and ideas of Cebes which arrest his attention. Thus in *Sim.* ix., on the second building of the tower, he writes,

XII. Πρῶτον, φημί, πάντων, κύριε, τοῦτό μοι δῆλωσον ἡ πέτρα (c. 257) καὶ ἡ πύλη τίς ἐστίν; Ἡ πέτρα, φησίν, αὕτη καὶ ἡ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστί. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἡ πέτρα παλαιά ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ πύλη καινὴ; Ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ σύνιε, ἀσύνετε. 2. ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ προγενέστερός ἐστιν, ὥστε σύμβουλον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παλαιός ἐστιν. Ἡ δὲ πύλη διατὶ καινὴ, φημί, κύριε; 3. "Οτι, φησίν, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων

τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς συντελείας φανερός ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτο καινὴ ἐγένετο ἡ πύλη, ἵνα οἱ μέλλοντες σώζονται δι' αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσέλθωσι τοῦ Θεοῦ....5. Εἰ οὖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐ δύνη εἰσελθεῖν εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς πύλης αὐτῆς, οὕτω, φησί, καὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄλλως εἰσελθεῖν οὐ δύναται ἄνθρωπος εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 6. εἶδες, φησί, τὸν ὄχλον τὸν οἰκοδομοῦντα τὸν πύργον; Εἶδον, φημί, κύριε. Ἐκεῖνοι, φησί, πάντες ἄγγελοι ἔνδοξοί εἰσι. τοῦτοις οὖν περιτετείχισται ὁ Κύριος. ἡ δὲ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν· αὕτη μία εἰσοδός (c. 11, 201) ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. ἄλλως οὖν οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ (cf. c. 208 f.).

ἡ πύλη] Doubtless he alludes also to St John x. 7, 9 ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θύρα...δι' ἐμοῦ ἐάν τις εἰσέλθῃ σωθήσεται. Borrowing πύλη here from c. 61 (cf. 285), he brings in θύρα (c. 245) in Vis. iii. 9. 6 ἔξω τῆς θύρας τοῦ πύργου.

μέλλοντες σώζονται] Salvation is a term common to Hermas and Cebes, and both use σώζειν repeatedly. But its combination with μέλλειν here and in c. 66 f. is remarkable.

εἰσέλθωσι] All in Cebes pass through the πύλη when they enter (c. 65) into βίος. So Hermas makes all who enter into ζωὴ enter by the πύλη, the Son of God, the one εἰσοδος πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.

τὸν ὄχλον] Having converted the crowd at the gate of life into stones (Matt. iii. 9, 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5), Hermas might have dispensed with the word ὄχλος, but he is bent upon bringing it in. He does this by imagining a multitude of builders who, like the stones, can only enter the kingdom of God by the μία εἰσοδος. He brings in the idea of preexistence here and elsewhere without relation to men in general. But in Sim. i. he makes this world a foreign city, from which the servant of God will one day ἐπανακάμψαι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν.

c. 64 προστάττει] On the injunctions of the Δαίμων and the ἐντολαί of the Shepherd see c. 401 n. (p. 312).

c. 74 Ἀπάτη] For Deceit personified Hermas has Ἀπάτη in Sim. ix. 15. 3 as the fourth of his women in black (p. 297).



and an Angel of Deceit in *Sim.* vi., as cited below under c. 166 *παραδίδονται τῇ Τιμωρίᾳ*.

First the *Δαίμων* (c. 64) appears, issuing his commands for the instruction of those entering into *βίος*, and then *Ἀπάτη* (c. 74), *ἣ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πλανῶσα*. So in *Sim.* vi. 1 Hermas and the Shepherd discourse about the *ἐντολαί* and their observance, and then the Angel of Deceit is introduced.

c. 77 *ποτίζει*] In *Sim.* viii. 2. 7—9 water is poured upon the rods to see *εἰάν τις αὐτῶν δυνηθῇ ζῆσαι, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ποτίσαι αὐτὸν τὰς ῥάβδους κ.τ.λ.* 3. 8 *πεποτισμένος*. *Sim.* ix. 1. 8, 25. 1 (Gen. ii. 6) *καὶ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τοῦ Κυρίου* (c. 84 *πάντες*) *ἐποτίζετο ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν*.

c. 78 *δύναμιν*] In its medical sense, *drug* (Jerram). See below under c. 311 *ποτίζῃ τὴν καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν*.

c. 80] Cebes here and elsewhere "*Ἀγνοία*, and so Hermas in *Mand.* iv. 1. 5, *Sim.* v. 7. 3.

c. 88 *Ἡδοναί*] A *Δόξα* may be right or wrong, and an *Ἐπιθυμία* (*Mand.* xii.) or a *Ἡδονή* (c. 218 n.) may lead to good or evil. On *Ἐπιθυμία* see also c. 189 n.

c. 94 (256) *χαλεπὸν*] *Vis.* i. 4. 2 *τὰ δὲ πρότερα χαλεπὰ καὶ σκληρά* (c. 116). *Mand.* vi. 2. 10 *πίστευε δὲ ὅτι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας χαλεπὰ ἐστί*. On *χαλεπὰ τὰ κακά* see vol. xx. 89 of this JOURNAL.

c. 95 *ἐπαγγέλλονται*] Hermas uses *ἐπαγγελία*, *ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι*, as in *Vis.* i. 3. 4, ii. 2. 6, iii. 1. 2, 2. 1. *Mand.* ix. 10 *ἡ γὰρ πίστις πάντα ἐπαγγέλλεται, πάντα τελειοί*. *Sim.* i. 7.

c. 98, 233 *ἀληθινὴ ὁδός*] *Vis.* iii. 7. 1 *ἀφίουσιν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινήν*.

### § 3.

Fortune and the cardinal Vices are introduced by Cebes in c. 101—160.

Very prominent in *Vis.* iii. and *Sim.* ix. are *στρόγγυλος* (c. 103, 113, 293) and *τετράγωνος* (c. 293, 299) as epithets



of the stones for the tower. Here again the *Tabula* underlies the *Pastor*. Τύχη on her round stone gives πλούτος and other things, παρὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν ἀφαιρεῖται παραχρῆμα ἃ δέδωκε. Hermas connects wealth and impoverishment with στρογγυλότης by his figure of the round stones which have to be squared before they can be used for the building of the tower. The white and round stones in *Vis.* iii. 6 are they that have faith and also worldly wealth. These, εἰ μὴ περικοπῇ αὐτῶν ὁ πλοῦτος, οὐ δύνανται τῷ Κυρίῳ εὐχρηστοὶ γενέσθαι. So he writes of them in *Sim.* ix. 31. 2 (cf. 9. 1—2), "oportet autem circumcidi hoc saeculum ab illis et vanitates opum suarum, et tunc convenient in Dei regnum," alluding again to the Gospel saying which he had quoted in *Sim.* ix. 20. 2, 3.

c. 104 f.] Fortune is οὐ μόνον τυφλή, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαινομένη καὶ κωφή. In the *Pastor*, where Fortune herself could not be described or named, it is said in effect that her votaries are blind and deaf and of unsound mind with respect to spiritual things. In *Mand.* x. 1. 4—5 we read that mere believers who give themselves to the pursuit of wealth and worldly things ἐπισκοτοῦνται ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν πράξεων...οὕτως οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ πιστεύσαντες καὶ εἰς ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τὰς πολλὰς ἐμπύπτοντες τὰς προειρημένας ἀποπλανῶνται ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως νοοῦσι περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης· καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἀκούσωσι περὶ θεότητος καὶ ἀληθείας, ὁ νόῦς αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν καταγίνεται, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως νοοῦσιν. *Mand.* v. 2. 7 ἀποτυφλοῦται, xi. 14 κωφοῦται.

Praechter in c. 105 reads καὶ μαινομένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ κωφή, with the note, "Nescio an καὶ μαινομένη eiciendum sit." But Hermas, who seems to refer to the madness of Τύχη, perhaps read καὶ μαινομένη.

c. 120—131 'Απροβούλευτοι κ.τ.λ.] This is a section to which we should expect to find some allusion in the *Pastor*, although the gifts of Fortune could not be directly mentioned in the Christian allegory. Of the 'Απροβούλευτοι it is said in c. 120 f., αἰτούσι δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἃ ῥίπτει. Some seem χαίρειν (c. 123, 125<sup>a</sup>), namely those who have received something from

her. Some seem κλαίειν (c. 127), namely those from whom she has taken away ἃ δέδωκε πρότερον αὐτοῖς.

Ξ. τίνα οὖν ἔστιν ἃ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὕτως οἱ μὲν 130 λαμβάνοντες χαίρουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀποβάλλοντες κλαίουσι;

Hermas uses ῥίπτειν and ἀποβάλλειν in describing the various fortunes of the stones for the tower, some of which ἀπέβαλλον or ἔρριπτον μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου (*Vis.* iii. 2. 7). In the next chapter revelations take the place of gifts of Fortune, and the Church replies to Hermas, who is πανοῦργος in his requests for explanations to be repeated by him to his brethren, 'Ακούσονται μὲν πολλοί· ἀκούσαντες δὲ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν χαρίζονται, τινὲς δὲ κλαΐονται· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι, εἰν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ μετανοήσωσιν, καὶ αὐτοὶ χαρήσονται. ἄκουε οὖν τὰς παραβολὰς τοῦ πύργου· ὑποκαλύψω γάρ σοι πάντα (*Vis.* iii. 3. 2).

c. 135 f. (cf. 165, 220, 588, 677) καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια] *Mand.* vi. 2. 5 καὶ ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσιά ἐστι καὶ ὅμοια. *Sim.* viii. 7. 4 περὶ δόξης τινός. Hermas attributes much of his misfortunes to his τέκνα (c. 135).

c. 147 f. 'Ακρασία κ.τ.λ.] Cebes has four principal Vices, 'Ακρασία, 'Ασωτία, 'Απληστία, Κολακεία, for which Hermas substitutes the tetrad, 'Απιστία, 'Ακρασία, 'Απείθεια, 'Απάτη (c. 74). These four head the list of the twelve women in black whom Hermas names, after naming his twelve Virgins, in *Sim.* ix. thus,

XV. Δῆ' ἄλυσόν μοι, φημί, κύριε, τῶν παρθένων τὰ ὀνόματα | καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν τὰ μέλανα ἱμάτια ἐνδεδνμένων. Ἄκουε, φησὶν, τῶν παρθένων τὰ ὀνόματα | τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων, τῶν εἰς τὰς γωνίας σταθισῶν. 2. ἡ μὲν πρώτη Πίστις, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα Ἐγκράτεια, ἡ δὲ τρίτη Δύναμις, ἡ δὲ τετάρτη Μακροθυμία· αἱ δὲ ἕτεραι ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων σταθεῖσαι ταῦτα ἔχουσι τὰ ὀνόματα· Ἀπλότης, Ἀκακία, Ἀγνεία, Ἰλαρότης, Ἀλήθεια, Σύνεσις, Ὀμόνοια, Ἀγάπη. ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ὁ φορῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνήσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. 3. ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν τὰ ἱμάτια μέλανα



ἐχουσῶν. καὶ ἐκ τούτων τέσσαρες εἰσὶ δυνατώτεραι· ἡ πρώτη Ἀπιστία, ἡ δευτέρα Ἀκрасία, ἡ δὲ τρίτη Ἀπείθεια, ἡ δὲ τετάρτη Ἀπάτη. αἱ δὲ ἀκόλουθοι αὐτῶν καλοῦνται Λύπη, Πονηρία, Ἀσέλγεια, Ὁξυχολία, Ψεῦδος, Ἀφροσύνη, Καταλαλιά, Μῖσος. ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ὁ φορῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ δούλος τὴν βασιλείαν μὲν ὄψεται τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται.

The cardinal Vices in the *Tabula* are dressed in the fashion of ἑταῖραι (c. 144). Hermas likewise attends to the costume and appearance of his various characters, imitating but not exactly copying Cebes. His twelve deadly Vices are appropriately dressed in black, cf. *Sim.* ix. 9. 5 ἐκλήθησαν δὲ γυναῖκες δώδεκα, εὔειδεσται (c. 335 εὐειδεῖς) τῷ χαρακτήρι, μέλανα ἐνδεδυμένοι, [περιεζωσμένοι καὶ ἔξω τοὺς ὤμους ἔχουσai,] καὶ τὰς τρίχας (c. 176) λελυμένοι. ἐδοκοῦσαν δέ μοι αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται ἄγρια (c. 420 θηρία) εἶναι. *Sim.* ix. 13. 8 μετὰ οὖν χρόνον τινὰ ἀνεπέισθκαν (c. 156 πεισθῇ ὑπ' αὐτῶν) ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ὧν εἶδες μέλανα ἱμάτια ἐνδεδυμένων, τοὺς ὤμους ἔξω ἐχουσῶν καὶ τὰς τρίχας λελυμένας καὶ εὐμόρφων.

#### § 4.

c. 166 παραδίδονται τῇ Τιμωρίᾳ] For Τιμωρία personified Hermas in *Sim.* vi. and *Sim.* vii. has an Angel τῆς τιμωρίας. The parable of the two "Shepherds of the Sheep" in *Sim.* vi. is based upon sayings in Cebes about Ἀπάτη, Τιμωρία, and the Sphinx.

In *Sim.* vi. 1 the *Pastor* appears to Hermas and says to him, Ἀγωμεν εἰς ἀγρόν, καὶ δείξω σοι τοὺς ποιμένας τῶν προβάτων. And first δεικνύει μοι ποιμένα νεανίσκον ἐνδεδυμένον σύνθεσιν ἱματίων, τῷ χρώματι κροκώδῃ. The chapter ends thus, ἔβοσκε δὲ πρόβατα πολλὰ λίαν, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ὥσπερ τρυφῶντα ἦν καὶ λίαν σπαταλῶντα, καὶ ἰλαρὰ ἦν σκιρτῶντα ὧδε κάκει· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ποιμὴν πάνν ἰλαρὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ ποιμένου ἰλαρὰ ἦν λίαν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προβάτοις περιέτρεχε. In the next chapter and the third we read,

II. Καὶ λέγει μοι· Βλέπεις τὸν ποιμένα τοῦτον; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. Οὗτος, φησὶν, ἄγγελος τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης ἐστίν.



οὗτος ἐκτρίβει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ καταστρέφει αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀπατῶν αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ταῖς πονηραῖς, ἐν αἷς ἀπόλλυνται. 2. ἐπιλανθάνονται γὰρ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ πορεύονται ἀπάταις καὶ τρυφαῖς ματαίαις, καὶ ἀπόλλυνται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τούτου, τινὰ μὲν εἰς θάνατον, τινὰ δὲ εἰς καταφθοράν....δ. πάλιν προέβημεν μικρόν, καὶ δεικνύει μοι ποιμένα μέγαν ὥσεί ἄγριον τῇ ἰδέᾳ, περικείμενον δέρμα αἷγιον λευκόν, καὶ πήραν τινὰ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, καὶ ῥάβδον σκληρὰν λίαν καὶ ὄζους ἔχουσιν, καὶ μάστιγα μεγάλην....III. 2. λέγω τῷ ποιμένι τῷ μετ' ἐμοῦ λαλοῦντι· Κύριε, τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ [οὕτως] ἄσπλαγχος καὶ πικρὸς καὶ ὅλως μὴ σπλαγχνιζόμενος ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα; Οὗτος, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς τιμωρίας· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν δικαίων ἐστί, κείμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τιμωρίας....ε. ὅταν οὖν θλιβῶσι πάσῃ θλίψει, τότε ἐμοὶ παραδίδονται εἰς ἀγαθὴν παιδείαν....καὶ τότε δοξάζουσι τὸν Θεόν, λέγοντες ὅτι δίκαιος κριτὴς ἐστὶ καὶ δικαίως ἔπαθον ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ· δουλεύουσι δὲ λοιπὸν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ | αὐτῶν, καὶ εὐδοῦνται ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτῶν, λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου πάντα ὅσα αὐτοῖς αἰτῶνται· καὶ τότε δοξάζουσι τὸν Κύριον ὅτι ἐμοὶ παρεδόθησαν, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδὲν πάσχουσι τῶν πονηρῶν.

ἀπάτης] To match the affected style of Ἀπάτη in c. 71 f. Hermas makes his Angel of Deceit a gay young man in a saffron coloured suit. He is at first the shepherd of all the sheep, because Ἀπάτη leads astray all (c. 74 f.) who enter into life. All drink of her draught of error, but some more, some less (c. 84 f.). Accordingly all the sheep go astray, but some are seen κερτῶντα and some μὴ κερτῶντα (*Sim.* vi. 2. 3—4).

ἐπιλανθάνονται κ.τ.λ.] They are destroyed by the Angel of ἀπάτη, in accordance with c. 92 f. αἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀπόλλυσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐπελάθοντο γὰρ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Δαιμονίου πρόσταγμα (c. 401 f.).

τινὰ μὲν εἰς θάνατον, τινὰ δὲ εἰς καταφθοράν] This curious contrast between θάνατος and καταφθορά is taken from c. 44 f., οὐκ εἰσάπαξ, ὥσπερ ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς Σφιγγὸς καταβρωθεὶς ἀπέθνησκεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ βίῳ καταφθείρεται. The

sheep who are σκιρτῶντα are οἱ ἀπεςπασμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τέλος, and the μὴ σκιρτῶντα are the κατεφθαρμένοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, who still have hope of repentance. ἡ καταφθορὰ οὖν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἀνανεώσεώς τινος, ὁ δὲ θάνατος ἀπώλειαν ἔχει αἰώνιον. *Sim.* ix. 26. 6 εἰ δὲ μή, ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν καταφθάρησονται εἰς θάνατον.

After c. 46 καταφθείρεται read with Praechter καθάπερ οἱ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παραδιδόμενοι, to which Hermas may be thought to allude in *Sim.* vi. 4—5 on the duration of punishments.

τιμωρίας] ἡ μὲν τὴν μάστιγα ἔχουσα καλεῖται Τιμωρία (c. 174 f.). In *Sim.* vi. 2. 5 the Angel τῆς τιμωρίας has μάστιγα μεγάλην. In 3. 6 the Shepherd says τότε ἐμοὶ παραδίδονται, as in c. 166 it is said, παραδίδονται τῇ Τιμωρίᾳ. In Hermas (as in Cebes) Μεάνοια, when possible, follows.

c. 182 συμβιοῖ] To these, of whom one is Λύπη (c. 176), he is delivered, and with these συμβιοῖ τιμωρούμενος. *Sim.* ix. 20. 4 παραδοθήσονται ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐκείναις, of whom one is Λύπη (p. 297). 21. 4 ἥδη παραδεδόμεναι εἰσὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ κ.τ.λ. 22. 4 εἰ δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, κατοικήσουσι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν πονηρευομένων εἰς αὐτούς. *Vis.* v. 2 ἵνα μετὰ σοῦ οἰκήσω. *Sim.* x. 3. 1 ut habitent tecum.

c. 183 ἕτερον οἶκον] *Vis.* iii. 7. 5 εἰς τοῦτον τὸν πύργον οὐ δύνανται ἀρμόσαι. 6 ἑτέρῳ δὲ τόπῳ ἀρμόσουσιν πολὺ ἐλάττω (c. 169), καὶ τοῦτο ὅταν βασανισθῶσιν καὶ ἐκπληρώσωσιν τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν...εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν μετανόησαι (c. 104 εἰ δὲ μὴ ἡ Μεάνοια), οὐ σώζονται διὰ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν αὐτῶν. Harmer omits μετανόησαι.

c. 185] Read with Praechter ἐπιτύχη ἐκ προαιρέσεως συναντήσασα. Compare *Test. XII. Patr.* Reub. § 1 καὶ ἐν προαιρέσει ψυχῆς μου ἐπτά ἔτη μετενόησα ἐνώπιον Κυρίου.

### § 5.

c. 186 εἰ δὲ ἡ Μεάνοια] Μεάνοια in Cebes is an intellectual change from ἀφροσύνη to σύνεσις, which delivers from Ψευδοδοξία. Hermas uses the term in its ethical and



Christian sense, but with allusion to the Πίναξ he makes out that repentance is also σύνεσις. In *Mand.* iv. he writes,

II. Ἦρώτησα αὐτὸν πάλιν λέγων· Ἐπεὶ ὁ Κύριος ἄξιόν με ἡγήσατο ἵνα μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντοτε κατοικῆς, ὀλίγα μου ῥήματα ἔτι ἀνάσχου, ἐπεὶ οὐ συνίω οὐδέν, καὶ ἡ καρδία μου πεπώρωται ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων μου πράξεων· συνέτισόν με, ὅτι λίαν ἄφρων εἰμὶ καὶ ὅλως οὐθὲν νοῶ. 2. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· Ἐγώ, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας εἰμὶ καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν σύνεσιν δίδωμι. ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι, φησὶν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ μετανοῆσαι σύνεσιν εἶναι; τὸ μετανοῆσαι, φησί, σύνεσις ἐστὶν μεγάλη....βλέπεις οὖν ὅτι ἡ μετάνοια σύνεσις ἐστὶν μεγάλη.

Repentance in the *Pastor* is subject to law and comes ἐκ προαιρέσεως, various passages representing it as predestined to be or not to be. An Angel has ἐξουσία over it (*Mand.* iv. 3. 5). It is given or not given (*Sim.* viii. 6. 2). Cf. also *Sim.* ix. 23. 5 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας, ὅσοι ταύτην ἔχετε τὴν αἴρεσιν, ἀπόθεσθε αὐτὴν καὶ μετανοήσατε, where possibly αἴρεσιν was suggested by προαιρέσεως (J. M. C.).

c. 189 ἐτέραν Δόξαν (καὶ Ἐπιθυμίαν)] So Praechter with brackets. Hermas writes at the end of *Mand.* xi. τούτῳ οὖν τῷ πνεύματι πίστενε, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρογ ἀπέχου. In *Mand.* xii. he speaks of ἐπιθυμίαι pl. (c. 88), and he personifies two Ἐπιθυμίαι, the πονηρά and the ἀγαθή. *Sim.* ix. 14. 1 τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων.

c. 205] With inverted reference to the *Tabula*, Hermas is made to mistake the Church for the Sibyl, the true teacher for the false. The νεανίσκος in *Vis.* ii. 4. 1 asks him, Τὴν πρεσβυτέραν, παρ' ἧς ἔλαβες τὸ βιβλίδιον, τίνα δοκεῖς εἶναι; ἐγὼ φημι· Τὴν Σίβυλλαν. Πλανᾶσαι, φησὶν, οὐκ ἔστιν. Τίς οὖν ἐστίν; φημί. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία, φησὶν. In Cebes the man who does not receive the ἐτέρα Δόξα that will lead him to Ἀληθινὴ Παιδεία, πάλιν πλανᾶται (c. 195) ὑπὸ τῆς Ψευδοδοξίας. Most men mistake a respectable looking woman whom Senex points out for Παιδεία· οὐκ ἔστι δέ (c. 205), ἀλλὰ Ψευδοπαιδεία, ἔφη. Men are seen within the enclosure in her company, οἰόμενοι μετὰ τῆς Ἀληθινῆς Παιδείας συνομιλεῖν (c. 214). Even οἱ σωζόμενοι come ὁδε πρῶτον (c. 207), for there is no other way.



Hermas repeats his mistake in *Vis.* v. 3 by thinking at first that the Shepherd is not the Shepherd, *Σὺ γὰρ τίς εἶ; ἐγὼ γάρ, φημί, γινώσκω ὃ παρέδοθην.*

Human life is ruined by uncertainty (c. 406 *ἐνεδοίαζε*). Men live *κακῶς*, thinking the not *ἀγαθὰ ἀγαθά*, and the not *κακά κακά* (c. 409). The learned are no better off than others unless they too have *Μεταμέλεια* with them, and are persuaded that οὐ *Παίδειαν* ἔχουσιν ἀλλὰ *Ψευδοπαίδειαν* (c. 578).

*Sim.* iii. likens this αἰὼν to the season of winter, in which the trees are all leafless and ὡσεὶ *ξηρά*. Why are they all ὡσεὶ *ξηρὰ καὶ ὅμοια*? Because οὔτε οἱ δίκαιοι φαίνονται οὔτε οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλ' ὅμοιοί εἰσιν· ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν οὗτος τοῖς δικαίοις χειμὼν ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐ φαίνονται μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν κατοικοῦντες.

*Sim.* iv. completes the parable by comparing the coming αἰὼν to θέρος, in which πάντες φανερωθήσονται.

c. 218 [*Ἡδονικοί*] *Ἡδονή* (c. 88) as a motive may lead to good or evil. Compare in *Hermæ Pastor*,

*Sim.* vi. 5. 5. Ποῖαι, φημί, κύριε, τρυφαὶ εἰσι βλαβεραὶ; Πᾶσα, φησί, πρᾶξις τρυφή ἐστὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃ ἐὰν ἡδέως ποιῇ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὀξύχολος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πάθει τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῶν τρυφᾷ· καὶ ὁ μοιχὸς καὶ ὁ μέθυσος (c. 553) καὶ ὁ κατάλαλος καὶ ὁ ψεύστης καὶ ὁ πλεονέκτης καὶ ὁ ἀποστερητῆς (c. 164, 666 *ἀποστερεῖν*) καὶ ὁ τούτοις τὰ ὅμοια ποιῶν τῇ ἰδίᾳ νόσῳ (c. 316, 319) τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖ· τρυφᾷ οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτοῦ. 6. αὗται πᾶσαι αἱ τρυφαὶ βλαβεραὶ εἰσι τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ Θεοῦ. διὰ ταύτας οὖν τὰς ἀπάτας πᾶσχουσιν οἱ τιμωρούμενοι καὶ βασανιζόμενοι. 7. εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ τρυφαὶ σώζουσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ ἐργαζόμενοι τρυφῶσι τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἡδονῇ φερόμενοι.

*Sim.* viii. 8. 5. τούτοις οὖν ἐστὶ μετάνοια, ἐὰν ταχὺ μετανοήσωσι καὶ μὴ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς αὐτῶν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὗτοι θάνατον ἑαυτοῖς κατεργάζονται.

*Sim.* viii. 9. 1. καὶ αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡγτέρα αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο... 4. τῶν δὲ μὴ μετανοούντων, ἀλλ' ἐπιμενόντων ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, ὁ θάνατος ἐγγύς.

In *Mand.* x. 3. 3, xii. 5. 3 ἡδονή is pleasantness of taste.

c. 221 f. αἱ δοκοῦσαι περιτρέχειν] These are the women dressed ὥσπερ ἑταῖραι (c. 144). *Apost. Const.* iii. 6 (with reference to a saying of Polycarp) γνωρίζετω οὖν ἡ χήρα ὅτι θυσιαστήριόν ἐστι Θεοῦ καὶ καθίσθω ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτῆς...οὐδὲ γάρ ποτε τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ περιτρέχει, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ ἱδρυται. The Angel of Deceit ἐν τοῖς προβάτοις περιέτρεχε (*Sim.* vi. 1. 6). The Virgins do not gad about, but they stand round the gate, αἱ δοκοῦσαι δυναταὶ εἶναι and the rest, each in her own place, while the men who are to build are ὧδε καθεῖσε περιτρεχόντων (*Sim.* ix. 3. 1—2, 4. 1).

c. 226 σπανίως] *Vis.* iv. 1. 2 ῥαδίως (al. ἁραιῶς, al. σπανίως) δὲ ὁδεύεται ὁ τόπος. 3 μόνος οὖν περιπατῶν κ.τ.λ.

c. 230—234] Ἀφροσύνη remains in them μέχρις ἂν πίωσι τὴν τούτων καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν. *Sim.* vi. 5. 2 Ἡ ἀφροσύνη σου παράμονός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ θέλεις σου τὴν καρδίαν καθαρῖσαι καὶ δουλεῖν τῷ θεῷ.

### § 6.

c. 240—278 Ποία ἡ ὁδός;] The site of the tower on the great rock in *Sim.* ix. 2. 1 (c. 257 f. πέτρᾳ μεγάλῃ) and the way to Ἀληθινὴ Παιδεία and the abode of the blessed correspond to the place of the abode of Virtue and the way to it as described by Hesiod in his lines cited by Xenophon in *Mem. Socr.* ii. 1. 20,

τὴν μὲν γὰρ κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι  
ῥηιδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει.  
τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρουθεν ἔθηκαν  
ἀθάνατοι μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν  
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,  
ῥηιδίῃ δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ εὐοῦσα.

Cebes in his description of the way uses words as ἀνοδία, βουνός, κρημνός not used by Hesiod, and represents the wayfarers as helped from above. In both respects Hermas follows or imitates Cebes.



On the way to Ἀληθινὴ Παιδεία there is ὥσπερ ἀνοδία τις (c. 247). The way runs at first between κρημνοῖς (c. 251) toward πέτραι ἀπόκρημνον (c. 258) ἐπὶ τοῦ βογνοῦ, but those who persevere in it εἶτα ἤξουσιν εἰς ὁδὸν καλὴν (c. 269). The last part of the way is ὁμαλή (c. 277) and εὐπόρευτος and καθαρὰ παντὸς κακοῦ.

c. 247 δι' ἀνοδίας τινός] This is "the reading of the best MSS...V. reads δυσανόδου" (Jerram), cf. c. 442 πλανῶνται ἀνοδίᾳ. With ὥσπερ δι' ἀνοδίας agrees c. 271 ὁρῶ γὰρ ὁδὸν φέρουσαν οὐδεμίαν ἐπ' αὐτήν.

"Cebes of course has in view in his allegory, as Hermas also has, the celebrated myth of the Two Ways. The earliest example of the connexion of ἀνοδία with this myth seems to be in Philo ii. p. 156. I have found six other examples in Philo. It is of some importance to remark that the connexion of the word with καρτερία, as here by Cebes (c. xv. f.), is borrowed from Philo i. p. 316" (J. M. C.).

Philo writes in lib. III. of *De Mose* (Mangey, ii. 156)... σύμβολον ἀνυπαιτίου ζωῆς καὶ βίου καθαρεύοντος ἐν πράξεσιν ἐπαινεταῖς, οὐ τὴν τραχεῖαν κακίας ὁδόν, ἥ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν ἀνοδίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δι' ἀρετῆς λεώφορον ἀπευθύνοντος.

c. 262, 266 ἐκτετάκασιν τὰς χεῖρας] This stretching out of the hands of Ἐγκράτεια and Καρτερία, with c. 123 f. ἐκτετακότες τὰς χεῖρας and c. 126 οἱ εἰληφότες τι παρ' αὐτῆς, accounts for the σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως in *Sim.* ix. 3. 2 ἐκπεπτάκεισαν δὲ τὰς χεῖρας αἱ παρθένοι (of whom one Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται) ὡς μέλλουσαι τι λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. In *Sim.* ix. 5. 1 there is a short rest from building (c. 274). With c. 274 f. (304) Ἰσχὺν καὶ Θάρσος cf. *Sim.* ix. 1. 2 ἰσχύι, *Vis.* iii. 1. 5 ἐν ἐμναυτῷ γενόμενος καὶ λαβὼν θάρσος.

c. 264 Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται] Second to Faith in *Vis.* iii. 8. 4 is her daughter who Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται. The cardinal Virgins in *Sim.* ix. 15 are Πίστις, Ἐγκράτεια, Δύναμις, Μακροθυμία. For ἐγκράτεια cf. *Vis.* ii. 3. 2; *Mand.* vi. 1. 1, viii. 1.

What, asks Hermas, are the twelve Virgins?



*Sim.* ix. 13. 2 ἅγια πνεύματά εἰσι, cf. 13. 7 λαβόντες οὖν τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα ἐνεδυναμώθησαν. 15. 6 ταῦτα τὰ πνεύματα ἐφόρεσαν. 16. 1 καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐτέθεσαν πεφορηκότες τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα.

c. 270 f. πῶς ἀναβαίνουνσιν;] The reply is αὐται ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ προσκαταβαίνουνσι κ.τ.λ. Compare *Sim.* ix. 16. 6 κατέβησαν οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀνέβησαν. 7 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνανέβησαν μετ' αὐτῶν.

c. 273 ἔλκουσιν ἄνω] The first tower standing low down ἐπὶ ὑδάτων, Hermas to bring in ἔλκειν ἄνω imagines stones for the building of it ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἐλκομένους (*Vis.* iii. 2. 6, 5. 2).

Compare also,

*Vis.* i. 1. 3. μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ πορευομένου μου εἰς Κούμας καὶ δοξάζοντος τὰς κτίσεις τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς μεγάλαι καὶ ἐκπρεπεῖς καὶ δυναταὶ εἰσιν, περιπατῶν ἀφύπνωσα. καὶ πνεῦμά με ἔλαβεν καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με δι' ἀνοδίας τινός, δι' ἧς ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐδύνατο ὁδεῦσαι· ἦν δὲ ὁ τόπος κρημνώδης καὶ ἀπερρηγῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων. διαβὰς οὖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκείνου ἦλθον εἰς τὰ ὀμαλά, καὶ τιθῶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἠρξάμην προσεύχεσθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι μου τὰς ἁμαρτίας.

*Vis.* ii. 1. 1. Πορευομένου μου εἰς Κούμας κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὃν καὶ πέρυσι, περιπατῶν ἀνεμνήσθην τῆς περυσινῆς ὁράσεως, καὶ πάλιν με αἶρει πνεῦμα καὶ ἀποφέρει εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ὅπου καὶ πέρυσι.

*Vis.* iii. 7. 1. Τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους λίθους, οὓς εἶδες μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου ῥιπτομένους καὶ πίπτοντας εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ κυλιομένους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀνοδίας· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ πεπιστευκότες μὲν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διψυχίας αὐτῶν ἀφίουσιν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινὴν (p. 294)· δοκοῦντες οὖν βελτίονα ὁδὸν δύνασθαι εὐρεῖν, πλανῶνται καὶ ταλαιπωροῦσιν περιπατοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀνοδίαις.

*Mand.* vi. 1. 2. σὺ οὖν πίστευε τῷ δικαίῳ, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ μὴ πιστεύσης· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἄδικον στρεβλὴν. ἀλλὰ σὺ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορεύου [καὶ ὀμαλῇ], τὴν δὲ στρεβλὴν ἔασον. 3. ἡ γὰρ στρεβλὴ ὁδὸς τρίβους οὐκ ἔχει,

ἀλλ' ἀνοδίας καὶ προσκόμματα πολλά, καὶ τραχεῖά ἐστι καὶ ἀκανθώδης. βλαβερά (c. 605) οὖν ἐστι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ πορευομένοις. 4. οἱ δὲ τῇ ὁρθῇ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι ὁμαλῶς περιπατοῦσι καὶ ἀπροσκόπτως (cf. *Mand.* ii. 4).

*Sim.* vi. 2. 6. καὶ ἔβαλλεν αὐτὰ εἰς τινα τόπον κρημνώδη.

*Sim.* ix. 10. 1. δεῖ γὰρ τοῦ πύργου τὰ κύκλω πάντα ὁμαλὰ γενέσθαι.

As the climbers on the way to Παιδεία are dragged up the ὁδὸς ἀνοδος by Ἐγκράτεια and Καρτερία, so in *Sim.* ix. 4, 8, 15 the stones of the tower, which as Ecclesia represents Παιδεία (§ 7), are carried to their places by Ἐγκράτεια and the other Virgins. But these Virgins are spirits (*Sim.* ix. 13. 2). Accordingly in *Vis.* i. 1. 3 a πνεῦμα carries Hermas through the ἀνοδία, and this is repeated in *Vis.* ii. 1. 1. Thus we have πνεῦμα, πνεῦμα corresponding to Ἐγκράτεια and Καρτερία in Cebes. *Vis.* iii. 8. 2 (p. 309) Ὁ πύργος οὗτος ὑπὸ τούτων (of whom one is Ἐγκράτεια) βαστάζεται.

In *Vis.* i. 1 again Rhoda greeting Hermas from heaven takes the place of Ἐγκράτεια on the rock. Rhoda first charges Hermas with having sinned against her, and then encourages him (c. 267 παρακαλοῦσιν). Afterwards Ecclesia enters, and she reads out ῥήματα ἔκφρικτα ending with σύμφορα καὶ ἡμερα, such as ἰδοὺ μεθιστάνει τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς βοῦνοὺς καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα ὁμαλὰ γίνεται τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ (3. 3—4).

In *Vis.* ii. 3. 2 she says, ἀλλὰ σώζει σε τὸ μὴ ἀποστήναί σε ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ ἡ ἀπλότης σου καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐγκράτεια ταῦτα σέσωκέν σε, ἐὰν ἐμμείνης, καὶ πάντας σώζει τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργαζομένους καὶ πορευομένους ἐν ἀκακίᾳ καὶ ἀπλότητι. οὗτοι κατισχύουσιν πάσης πονηρίας καὶ παραμένουσιν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. He has been in difficulties, but Ἐγκράτεια has helped to bring him safe through. On Ἐγκράτεια see also c. 59 n.

With the ἀνοδία which has to be passed on the way to Παιδεία, and in *Vis.* i., ii. on the way to Ecclesia, compare in



Philo *De Ebrietate* § 13 (M. i. 364) καὶ σχεδὸν τοῦτο συνέβη πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνοδία πρὸς παιδείαν χρησαμένων\*.

c. 282 φωτὶ πολλῶ] The Church is seen ἐν ἱματισμῷ λαμπροτάτῳ (*Vis.* i. 2. 2), and the tower and its stones are λαμπροί. *Sim.* ix. 2. 2 ἡ δὲ πύλη οὕτως ἔστιλβεν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον ὥστε με θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῇ λαμπηδόνι τῆς πύλης.

c. 287 εὐδαιμόνων οἰκητήριον] Of the seven Virtues it is said in *Vis.* iii. 8. 8 ὃς δ' ἂν δουλεύσῃ ταύταις καὶ ἰσχύσῃ κρατῆσαι (c. 381) τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πύργῳ ἔξει τὴν κατοίκησιν μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ. In *Sim.* viii. also the tower is the abode of the blessed. In *Sim.* ix. they are the stones of which it is built with the help of the Virgins.

c. 288 αἱ Ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι καὶ ἡ Εὐδαιμονία] In *Vis.* iii. 10 the Church, ἰλαρὰ εἰς τέλος, takes the place of Εὐδαιμονία and is carried off to dwell in the tower, with the Virtues round about her (p. 309). The ἀνὴρ ὑψηλός and the Virgins form a corresponding group in *Sim.* ix. 6. In *Sim.* ix. 24. 4 to dwell with the Son of God is εὐδαιμονία.

c. 289 ὡς καλόν] In *Sim.* ix. 9. 7 the Shepherd admires the tower, for οὕτως ἦν ὠκοδομημένος ὥστε με ἰδόντα ἐπιθυμεῖν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν αὐτοῦ.

## § 7.

c. 294, 299 τετραγώνου] The character in Hermas that corresponds to Παιδεία is the Church, which as the tower stands on a square rock (*Sim.* ix. 2. 1), and in the form of a woman is seen both ἐστηκυῖα and sitting upon a bench with four feet (*Vis.* iii. 12. 1, 13. 3), which is described as κείμενον (ib. 1. 3. c. 294 κείμενον). She inculcates ἀληθινὴ παιδεία in *Vis.* ii. 3. 1 παιδευθήσονται γὰρ παιδείᾳ δικαία, and *Vis.* iii. 9. 10 πῶς ὑμεῖς παιδεύειν θέλετε τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς Κυρίου, αὐτοὶ μὴ ἔχοντες παιδείαν; παιδεύετε οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ κατέναντι τοῦ πατρὸς ἰλαρὰ σταθεῖσα λόγον ἀποδῶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πάντων τῷ Κυρίῳ ὑμῶν. In

\* See Philo ed. Mangey (M.), or ed. Cohn et Wendland.



*Sim.* vi. 3. 6 the Shepherd, the Angel of Repentance, says τότε ἐμοὶ παραδίδονται εἰς ἀγαθὴν παιδείαν.

As befits her character of teacher the Church appears with a βιβλίον from which she reads aloud in *Vis.* i., and in *Vis.* ii. as reading a βιβλαρίδιον or βιβλίδιον, which Hermas copies πρὸς γράμμα. In *Vis.* iii. 2, sitting on the bench, she shews the building of the tower.

The book of Proverbs associates παιδεία with wisdom, which it personifies. Σοφίαν καὶ παιδείαν ἀσεβεῖς ἐξουθενήσουσιν, what they dislike being wisdom in the character of παιδεία. In *Sir.* vi. 22—24 σοφία γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἐστίν, καὶ οὐ πολλοῖς ἐστὶν φανερά, the word σοφία according to the Cairene Hebrew text is a free rendering of רָוִי, παιδεία. The Church in *Vis.* ii. 4. 1 πάντων πρώτη ἐκτίσθη. In *Sir.* i. 4 προτέρα πάντων ἐκτισται σοφία, καὶ σύνεσις φρονήσεως ἐξ αἰῶνος. Prov. viii. 23 πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με suits Ecclesia as the tower. Ecclesia uses the word σοφία in *Vis.* i. 3. 4, thus, καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ σοφίᾳ (c. 20) καὶ προνοίᾳ κτίσας τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ. In *Vis.* iii. 9. 1 Ἀκούσατέ μου, τέκνα suits the character of Παιδεία μήτηρ in Philo *De Ebr.* § 20 (M. i. 369), and c. 295 θυγατέρες τινὲς δοκοῦσαι εἶναι.

The Church sits μόνη on the chair (*Vis.* i. 2. 2), but sits with Hermas, a son of the Church, on the bench (*Vis.* iii. 2. 4). So in *Mand.* xi. the true prophets sit together on the bench, but the separatist ψευδοπροφήτης sits by himself on the chair. The contrast is suggested by that of the solitary Τύχη on her rolling stone with Παιδεία standing ἐπὶ λίθου τετραγώνου between her daughters Ἀληθεία and Πειθώ. Answering to Παιδεία also as καλή, μέση δὲ καὶ κεκριμένη τῇ ἡλικίᾳ (c. 292), the Church in the third vision is ὅλη νεωτέρα καὶ κάλλει ἐκπρεπεστάτη, μόνας δὲ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας εἶχεν (*Vis.* iii. 10. 5). But Hermas glorifies her attire, making it λαμπρότατος (*Vis.* i. 2. 2), as he makes her wand bright and the stones of the tower bright (*Vis.* iii. 2. 4). On Ψευδοπαιδεία see page 318.

c. 300, 513 βεβαία] Βεβαιότης is an attribute of Παιδεία, and the opposite of Τύχη (c. 110, 115, 485). *Vis.* iii. 4. 3 βέβαια καὶ τεθεμελιωμένα.

c. 311 ποτίζῃ τὴν καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν] With allusion to this quasi-Pythagorean (c. 20 f.) doctrine of *κάθαρσις*, Hermas several times uses *καθαρίζειν*, for c. *καθαίρειν* (323 ἐκκαθ.). He also follows Cebes in using *δύναμις* in both good and bad senses. For *καθαρίζειν* see the following passages *inter alia*,

Vis. iii. 9. 7. νῦν οὖν ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς προηγουμένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῖς πρωτοκαθεδρίταις· μὴ γίνεσθε ὅμοιοι τοῖς φαρμακοῖς. οἱ φαρμακοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ φάρμακα (c. 428 ἀντιφ.) ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὰς πυξίδας βαστάζουσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν ἰὸν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν. 8. ἐνεσκιρωμένοι ἐστὲ καὶ οὐ θέλετε καθαρίσαι τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ συνκεράσαι ὑμῶν τὴν φρόνησιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν καθαρῇ καρδίᾳ, ἵνα σχῆτε ἔλεος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου.

So Seneca in Lactant. iii. 15 (ap. Hilgf. post Cotel.) of philosophers' denunciations of vices, "quae non aliter intueri decet quam medicos quorum tituli remedia habent, *pyxides venena*."

Mand. ix. 7. καθάρισον οὖν τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀπὸ τῆς διψυχίας (Jas. iv. 8).

Mand. x. 3. 3. Διατί, φημί, οὐκ ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἡ ἐντευξις τοῦ λυπούμενου; "Οτι, φησὶν, ἡ λύπη ἐγκάθηται εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ· μεμιγμένη οὖν ἡ λύπη μετὰ τῆς ἐντεύξεως οὐκ ἀφίησι τὴν ἐντευξιν ἀναβῆναι καθαρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὄξος οἶνω μεμιγμένον ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡδονὴν οὐκ ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ λύπη μεμιγμένη μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τὴν αὐτὴν ἐντευξιν οὐκ ἔχει. 4. καθάρισον οὖν σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης τῆς πονηρᾶς ταύτης, καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ Θεῷ.

In *Sim.* ix. 10 the cathartic powers of the Virgins are brooms and water.

### § 8.

c. 339 ἡ μὲν πρώτη Ἐπιστήμη, cf. 306, 331, 410 f., 467 f., 512] Second to Ἐπιστήμη is Ἐγκράτεια, whom Hermas



adopts as his second Virtue in *Sim.* ix. 15 (p. 296), and in *Vis.* iii. thus,

VIII. 2. Βλέπεις ἐπὶ τὰ γυναῖκας κύκλω τοῦ πύργου; Βλέπω, φημί, κυρία. Ὁ πύργος οὗτος ὑπὸ τούτων βαστάζεται κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ Κυρίου. 3. ἄκουε νῦν τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν. ἡ μὲν πρώτη αὐτῶν, ἡ κρατοῦσα τὰς χεῖρας, Πίστις καλεῖται· διὰ ταύτης σώζονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. 4. ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα, ἡ περιεζωσμένη καὶ ἀνδριζομένη, Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται· αὕτη θηγάτηρ ἐστὶν τῆς Πίστεως... 5. Αἱ δὲ ἑτεραι, κυρία, τίνες εἰσὶν; Θυγατέρες ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν... ὅταν οὖν τὰ ἔργα τῆς μητρὸς (c. 351) αὐτῶν πάντα ποιήσης, δύνασαι ζῆσαι. 6. Ἦθελον, φημί, γνῶναι, κυρία, τίς τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει αὐτῶν. Ἄκουε, φησὶν, τὰς δυνάμεις αἷς ἔχουσιν. 7. κρατοῦνται δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκολογθοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις, καθὼς καὶ γεγεννημένοι εἰσὶν. ἐκ τῆς Πίστεως γεννᾶται Ἐγκράτεια, ἐκ τῆς Ἐγκρατείας Ἀπλότης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀπλότητος Ἀκακία, ἐκ τῆς Ἀκακίας Σεμνότης, ἐκ τῆς Σεμνότητος Ἐπιστήμη, ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιστήμης Ἀγάπη. τούτων οὖν τὰ ἔργα ἀγνὰ καὶ σεμνὰ καὶ θεῖά ἐστιν. 8. ὃς ἂν οὖν δουλεύσῃ (c. 372) ταύταις καὶ ἰσχύσῃ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ πύργῳ ἔξει τὴν κατοίκησιν μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ (c. 287).

Of the seven women seen here κύκλω τοῦ πύργου, and of the twelve Virgins in *Sim.* ix. 15 (p. 296), the first and the last are the first and the last of St Paul's triad, "Faith, Hope, Charity," and of the ogdoad in 2 Pet. i. 5—7.

While Hermas naturally gives the first place to Faith, Ἐπιστήμη is one of his seven, and Σύνεσις one of his twelve Virtues. He protests repeatedly that the πιστός must have knowledge and intelligence. To the μακρόθυμος and γνητός his Ποιμήν in *Mand.* v. 1. 1 promises πάντων τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων κατακυριεύσεις καὶ ἐργάσῃ πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. By the powers of Σύνεσις and Καρτερία, so to say, a man prevails over all the θηρία and attains to all the Virtues.

τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν] It was a question with philosophers whether virtue is a science, πότερον διδακτόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀρετή; Cebes makes the "other Virtues" sisters of Ἐπιστήμη, and makes Εὐδαιμονία "the mother" (c. 351). In *Vis.* iii. 8 Faith



is the mother of Ἐγκράτεια, and she of Ἀπλότης, and so on. Cf. No. 39 of the JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, pages 77, 87.

ἀκολουθοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις] *Epist. Polyc.* § 3 πίστιν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν, ἐπακολουθούσης (c. 448) τῆς ἐλπίδος, προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης. Procopius 292 A, in Wendland's *Fragmente Philos.*, page 51 (Berlin, 1891), τὰς ἀρετὰς τὰς ἀντακολουθούσας ἀλλήλαις.

On the vices compare *Mand.* v. 2. 4 εἴτα ἐκ τῆς ἀφροσύνης γίνεται πικρία, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πικρίας θυμός (c. 328), κ.τ.λ. *Mand.* viii. 4 τὰ ἀκόλουθα. x. 1. 1...τὴν λύπην· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἀδελφὴ ἐστὶ τῆς διψυχίας καὶ τῆς ὀξυχολίας. xii. 2. 2 αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἢ πονηρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου θυγάτηρ ἐστίν.

c. 351—363 *Εὐδαιμονία*] With τὴν μητέρα cf. *Vis.* iii. 9. 10 ἵνα κἀγὼ κατέναντι τοῦ πατρὸς ἱλαρὰ σταθεῖσα κ.τ.λ. The tower on the rock in *Sim.* ix. 2, which is higher than the περίβολος of mountains, is like an ἀκρόπολις (c. 356). For the two thrones in c. 69, 359 Hermas has his chair and bench (p. 289). *Εὐδαιμονία* wears a crown (c. 360), and the Church in her bridal array is capped with a μίτρα (*Vis.* iv. 2. 1), both being said to be κεκοσμημένη. As *Εὐδαιμονία* (c. 288 n.) the Church greets Hermas when he is crowned with victory against the beast.

c. 365—382 στεφανοῖ αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.] The men who have prevailed in the μεγίστους ἀγῶνας and over the μέγιστα θηρία are crowned. *Mand.* xii. 2. 5 σὺ οὖν στεφανωθεὶς (c. 386) κατ' αὐτῆς (the evil Ἐπιθυμία) ἐλθὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτῇ τὸ νίκος (c. 383, 389) ὃ ἔλαβες δοῦλεγcon αὐτῇ καθὼς αὕτη βούλεται.

Cebes, with reference to the Vices, ταύταις ταῖς γυναιξὶ δουλεύειν (c. 161 f.). Philo *De Cherub.* § 22 (M. i. 152) εἰάν δὲ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπαιδαγωγῆτον καὶ ἀδιδασκτον ἑάσης σεαυτὸν, δουλεύσεις τὸν αἰῶνα χαλεπαῖς δεσποίναις, οἰήσεσιν, ἐπιθυμίαις, ἡδοναῖς, ἀδικίαις, ἀφροσύναις, ψευδέσι δόξαις.

*Vis.* iii. 1—2. Those who are to sit on the right hand must have endured μάστιγας, φυλακάς, θλίψεις μεγάλας, θηρία εἵνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος. Those on the left hand have the same

δῶρα and promises, *μόνον ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ δεξιῶν κάθηνται καὶ ἔχουσιν δόξαν τινά.*

*Sim.* viii. In this parable of the rods cut from the great willow the Angel of the Lord orders crowns to be brought, and sends some of the men *εἰς τὸν πύργον* with crowns (2. 1), and some without crowns (2. 2). Those who go at once *ἐστεφανωμένοι* (c. 433 f.) to the tower are those who *συμπαλαίσαντες τῷ διαβόλῳ ἐνίκησαν αὐτόν* (c. 368 *νενίκηκεν*). The second class, who go to the tower uncrowned, are the *θλιβέντες μὴ παθόντες δέ* (3. 6—7). Of others it is said *καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ τείχη τὰ πρῶτα* (6. 6). These gradations correspond to the three *περίβολοι* of the Πίναξ. *Vis.* iii. 5. 5 *μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἔχουσιν, παρὰ τῷ πύργῳ κείσθαι.*

c. 374 *ποῖα τὰ θηρία ;*] With the answer compare Philo *Leg. Allegor.* iii. § 37 (M. i. 110) *ἐπικατάρατος δέ ἐστι* (sc. the ὄφεις, which represents ἡδονή) *καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία, λέγω δὴ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, τούτοις γὰρ νοῦς τιτρώσκεται καὶ διαφθείρεται.* See also *Sim.* ix. 1. 9 and 26. 1, 7 on the ninth mountain, which had poisonous *έρπετά* and *θηρία τὰ διαφθείροντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.*

### § 9.

c. 392 *ὅθεν ἦλθε πρῶτον*] When a man has been crowned the Virtues take him back to the place whence he came. That the pilgrim should return after reaching his goal is an exceptional feature in the *μυθολογία*, to which Hermas does his best to approximate in *Sim.* ix. When the tower has been built, the approved stones must remain in it. But in chap. 6 the *ἀνὴρ ὑψηλός* comes and strikes every stone with a rod, and orders those which shew defects to be taken out and laid aside. Afterwards we read that certain stones *ἤρθησαν καὶ ἀπετέθησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὅθεν ἠνέχθησαν· οὐκ ἀπεβλήθησαν δέ* (9. 4), and of others, *τοὺς ἀποβεβλημένους*, we read that the Shepherd commanded the *μέλανα ἐνδεδυνμένοι* to carry them back *εἰς τὰ ὄρη ὅθεν καὶ ἠνέχθησαν. αἱ δὲ ἰλαραὶ ἦραν, καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν πάντας τοὺς λίθους, καὶ ἔθηκαν ὅθεν ἐλήφθησαν* (9. 5—6). The



*dēbris* would naturally be cleared away when the building was over; but there is no apparent reason why any of the stones should have been taken back to the places ὅθεν ἦλθον, except that here again Hermas took occasion to imitate Cebes. The word τόπον (c. 391) in this connexion is found in *Sim.* ix. 4. 7, where the men order the unsightly stones ἀπαχθῆναι [κάτω] εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον ὅθεν ἠνέχθησαν.

c. 393—397] The people there live wretchedly and κατακρατημένοι ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πολεμίων (*Vis.* i. 1. 8 θάνατον καὶ αἰχμαλωτισμὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισπῶνται), under the power of Ἀλαζονεία, Κενοδοξία (*Mand.* vi. 2. 5, viii. 5), Φιλαργυρία (Hermas πλεονεξία), and other evils.

c. 401 f.] For they have forgotten τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Δαιμονίου πρόσταγμα (p. 298). Compare c. 12 ὡς προστάττων τι, 473 f. τί προστάττει, 521 f. ἃ προστάττει. *Mand.* iv. 1. 10 προσετάγη. *Sim.* v. 1. 5 τήρησον τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ πορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ.

The Δαίμων holds a χάρτην (c. 62) in his hand, but his commandments are not written like those of the Shepherd. The *Tabula*, depreciating the written word, like Socrates in Plato's *Phaedrus*, assigns γράμματα to Ψευδοπαιδεία (c. 531). Hermas, having regard to the letter of Holy Scripture, transfers the gift of γράμματα to the Church (p. 318).

c. 406 f. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ᾔδει οὐδὲ ἠπίστατο οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐνεδοίαζε] Hermas denounces doubt under the name διψυχία and as the opposite of faith. The remedy for doubt in the *Tabula* is ἡ ἐπιστήμη τῶν συμφερόντων (c. 411, 512). With οὐκ ἀκριβῶς κ.τ.λ. compare *Vis.* iii. 10. 9—10 ἀλλ' αἱ διψυχίαι ὑμῶν ἀσυνέτους ὑμᾶς ποιοῦσιν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ πάλιν εἶπον· Ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σοῦ, κύριε, ἀκριβέστερον (c. 543) αὐτὰ γνωσόμεθα. *Mand.* iii. 4 ἀκριβῶς. *Sim.* ix. 1. 3 δεῖ δέ σε παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀκριβέστερον πάντα μαθεῖν.

c. 415 f.] Wherever he goes now there is safety for him, ὥσπερ τῷ τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἔχοντι. Everywhere πάντα καλῶς βιώνεται, and men welcome him ὥσπερ τὸν ἱατρὸν



οἱ κάμνοντες (c. 419). He is not troubled by λύπη (c. 423), οὔτε ὑπ' ἄλλου κακοῦ οὐδενός (c. 424 f.). *Vis.* iii. 13. 2 εὐθὺς ἐπελάθετο τῶν προτέρων λυπῶν (c. 426 τῶν πρότερον αὐτὸν λυπούντων). *Vis.* iv. 3. 4 οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποβαλεῖτε (c. 371 ἀπέρριψεν) πᾶσαν λύπην καὶ στενοχωρίαν. *Sim.* vi. 3. 6 καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδὲν πάσχουσι τῶν πονηρῶν.

In *Vis.* iii. 8. 11 Hermas is told to repeat εἰς τὰ ὅτα τῶν ἁγίων what he has heard, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες αὐτὰ καὶ ποιήσαντες καθαρισθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν αὐτῶν. Thus he is to be their ἰατρός. *Mand.* xii. 3. 3 εὐρήσεις γὰρ χάριν, they will welcome him. The return of the pilgrim (c. 392 n.) is only strange as allegory. In plain language, he who has received instruction is in a position to instruct others, and οὐ σοὶ μόνῳ ἀπεκαλύφθη, ἀλλ' ἵνα πᾶσιν δηλώσης αὐτά (*Vis.* iii. 8. 10, 9. 10). *Sim.* v. 5. 1 ἵνα γνωστὰ πᾶσι ποιήσης αὐτά.

c. 425 ἀπάντων κυριεύει] *Mand.* v., vii., ix., xii., and *Sim.* ix. 2 κατακυριεύειν.

*Mand.* ix. 10 καταφρόνησον οὖν τῆς διψυχίας καὶ κατακυρίευσον αὐτῆς ἐν παντὶ πράγματι, ἐνδυσάμενος τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ δυνατὴν. ἡ γὰρ πίστις πάντα ἐπαγγέλλεται (c. 95, 275), πάντα τελειοῖ.

*Mand.* xii. 4. 2...ὅτι ἔκτισε τὸν κόσμον ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ ὑπέταξε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τοῦ κατακυριεύειν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πάντων; 3. εἰ οὖν, [φησί,] πάντων ὁ ἄνθρωπος κύριός ἐστι τῶν κτισμάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πάντων κατακυριεύει, οὐ δύναται καὶ τούτων τῶν ἐντολῶν κατακυριεῦσαι; δύναται, φησί, [πάντων καὶ] πασῶν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων κατακυριεῦσαι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἔχων τὸν Κύριον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Hermas alludes to man's dominion (Gen. i., Ps. viii., Heb. ii.) over all things, including the θηρία, whereof the ἀγρία evil Ἐπιθυμία is one which δυσκόλως ἡμεροῦται (*Mand.* xii. 1. 2), cf. πᾶσα γὰρ φύσις θηρίων κ.τ.λ. (*Jas.* iii. 7).

c. 435 f. καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς δοκοῦσι τετρίφθαι] *Sim.* vii. 3 Ἄλλως, φησὶν, οὐ δύναται θλιβῆναι, εἰ μὴ σὺ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ οἴκου [ὅλου] θλιβῇς. Compare the allegorising of the dress

of the Virgins in *Sim.* ix. 13. Hermas uses ἐκτρίβειν, suggested by τετρίφθαι, in *Mand.* x. on λύπη (c. 435), and *Sim.* vi. 1, 2.

c. 439—442] Some turn back ἀπεγνωσμένοι (*Vis.* i. 1. 9, *Mand.* xii. 6. 2, *Sim.* ix. 26. 4). Others turn back (*Sim.* i. bis, ix. 14. 1 ἐπανακ.) ἀποδεδειλιακότες, and πλανῶνται ἀνοδία (*Vis.* iii. 7. 1). *Sim.* ix. 1. 3 μηδὲν δειλαινόμενος, 21. 3 οὕτω καὶ οἱ δίψυχοι, ὅταν θλίψιν ἀκούσωσι, διὰ τὴν δειλίαν αὐτῶν εἰδωλο-  
λατροῦσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτῶν.

c. 450 οὐχ ἑαυτοὺς αἰτιῶνται] *Mand.* ix. 8 σὺ οὖν μὴ διαλίπης (c. 582) αἰτούμενος τὸ αἷτημα τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ λήψῃ αὐτό. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκκακήσης καὶ διψυχήσης αἰτούμενος, σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ καὶ μὴ τὸν διδόντα σοι. *Sim.* vi. 3. 5 πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀκαταστατοῦντες ταῖς βουλαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιβάλλονται πολλά, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὅλως προχωρεῖ. καὶ λέγουσιν ἑαυτοὺς μὴ εὐοδοῦσθαι ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναβαίνει αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ὅτι ἔπραξαν πονηρά, ἀλλ' αἰτιῶνται τὸν Κύριον. Hermas in *Vis.* i. 1 was at first χρόνον τινά (c. 519) with Ἡδυνάθεια and Ἀκρασία. Afterwards he speaks evil (c. 451) of Rhoda as a false accuser and οὐχ ἑαυτὸν αἰτιᾶται.

c. 460 ἰλαραὶ τε καὶ γελῶσαι] In *Vis.* i. 1. 8 γελάσασά μοι λέγει· Ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀνέβη ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς πονηρίας, where γελάσασα comes in strangely, it may have been suggested by the *Tabula*. *Vis.* i. 2. 3 ὁ πάντοτε γελῶν, τί...οὐχ ἰλαρός; Hermas makes much use of ἰλαρός, and he personifies Ἰλαρότης in *Sim.* ix. (p. 296).

c. 470 ὥσπερ αἱ νῆες] After conducting men to Παιδεία the Δόξαι return to fetch others, as ships τὰ φορτία ἐξελόμεναι, πάλιν ἀνακάμπτουσιν, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν γεμίζονται.

Keeping the word φορτίον, Hermas writes in *Sim.* ix. 2. 4 that the Virgins ἐνδεδυμένοι ἦσαν λινοῦς χιτῶνας καὶ περιεξωσμένοι εὐπρεπῶς ὡς μέλλουσαι φορτίον τι βαστάζειν. In chap. 3 they spread out their hands ὡς μέλλουσαι τι λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, and they receive stones for the tower. These they carry separately to their places in the tower (which as Ecclesia represents Παιδεία), returning again and again for other such φορτία. Not wanting the word γεμίζειν here, Hermas uses it of another sort of vessel in *Mand.* xii. 5. 3.



c. 495 *τραπεζίταις*] One of the characters common to Hermas and Cebes is 'Αλήθεια. In c. 295 f. she seems to be a daughter of 'Αληθινή Παιδεία, and in *Sim.* ix. 15 she is one of the twelve Virgins. *Mand.* iii. commends truth, with artificial reference to Cebes and a saying in the *Διδαχή*, thus,

Πάλιν μοι λέγει· 'Αλήθειαν ἀγάπα, καὶ πᾶσα ἀλήθεια ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου ἐκπορευέσθω, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα, δὲ ὁ Θεὸς κατώκισεν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ, ἀληθὲς εὗρεθῇ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὕτως δοξασθήσεται ὁ Κύριος ὁ ἐν σοὶ κατοικῶν· ὅτι ὁ Κύριος ἀληθινὸς ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι, καὶ οὐδὲν παρ' αὐτῷ ψεύδος. 2. οἱ οὖν ψευδόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὸν Κύριον καὶ γίνονται ἀποστερηταὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, μὴ παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἣν ἔλαβον. ἔλαβον γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἄψευστον. τοῦτο ἐὰν ψευδὲς ἀποδώσωσιν, ἐμίαναν τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀποστερηταί.

Mr Jerram writes on c. 499, "θέματα, a later Greek word. The usual term is *παρακαταθήκη*." This we find in *Mand.* iii., and with it there the rare word ἄψευστον from Philo *De Spec. Legibus*, *Περὶ Παρακαταθηκῶν* (M. ii. p. 341), 'Εὰν δὲ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν ὡς ἱερὸν χρῆμα παρακαταθήκην ἄψευστον\* οἴεται (*sic*) δεῖν φυλάττειν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων ἔφεδροι κ.τ.λ.

The πνεῦμα in man, according to Hermas, is a deposit, which he should give back on demand ἄψευστον as he received it. Compare *Sim.* ix. 32. 2, 3 *reddite igitur ei spiritum integrum &c.* Philo *Quis R. D. Haeres* § 21 f. (M. i. 487), on λάβε μοι in Gen. xv. 9, λάβε μὴ σεαυτῷ, δάνειον δὲ ἡ παρακαταθήκην νομίσας...παρακατέθετο δέ σοι αὐτῷ ψυχὴν, λόγον, αἴσθησιν ὁ ζωοπλάστης, ἡ συμβολικῶς δάμαλις, κριός, αἶξ.

In c. 494 f. we have in effect the "Logion" γίνεσθε δόκιμοι *τραπεζῖται* (Resch, *Agrapha*), which a succession of Church writers from Clem. Alex. take to mean, Be as practised "exchangers" who detect and reject base coin. Philo, Cebes, Hermas, Matt. xxv. 27 and 1 Tim. vi. 20, 2 Tim. i. 14 suggest a better interpretation.

c. 513 *ἀσφαλὴς δόσις καὶ βεβαία καὶ ἀμετάβλητος*] Read with Praechter *ἀμεταμέλητος*. Rom. xi. 29 *ἀμεταμέλητα γὰρ*

\* "Forsan ἄψανστον" here has not the support of Hermas.



τὰ χαρίσματα. To Hermas the word suggests also 2 Cor. vii. 10—11 on the two kinds of λύπη, one of which works μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον. Accordingly he writes in *Mand.* x. 2. 1, 4 Ἄκουε, νῦν, φησί, ἀνόητε, πῶς ἡ λύπη ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πάλιν σώζει... αὕτη οὖν ἡ λύπη δοκεῖ σωτηρίαν ἔχειν. Λύπη in the *Tabula* is an evil, but as a handmaid of Τιμωρία may lead to Μετάνοια and salvation (c. 174—185).

The βεβαία δόσις of Παιδεία is the true Ἐπιστήμη τῶν συμφερόντων (c. 411, 512). Hermas in several places uses such words as σύμφορος, ἀσύμφορος, εὐχρηστος, ἄχρηστος (c. 529, 541 f.). *Vis.* v. 5 αὐτὰ τὰ κεφάλαια (c. 457) τὰ ὄντα ὑμῖν σύμφορα. *Sim.* vi. 1. 3 αὐται αἱ ἐντολαὶ σύμφοροί εἰσι τοῖς μέλλουσι μετανοεῖν. vii. 5 συμφέρον.

c. 518] On the Church and Ψευδοπαιδεία see page 318.

c. 520 ἐφόδιον] Passing by for the present the explanation of the Vigil of Hermas with the Virgins given in No. 42 of this JOURNAL, we have to compare the narrative with possible parallels in the *Tabula*.

*Sim.* ix. 10. The Virgins having swept and washed round about the tower so that εἰάν ἔλθῃ ὁ Κύριος there may be nothing μέμψασθαι, the Shepherd departs for a little while leaving Hermas alone with them. The Vigil, in which, "dormiens et vigilans" (c. 700 f.), he sleeps and yet prays ἀδιαλείπτως with the Virgins, is described in the next chapter.

XI. Λέγουσί μοι αἱ παρθένοι· Σήμερον ὁ ποιμὴν ὧδε οὐκ ἔρχεται. Τί οὖν, φημί, ποιήσω ἐγώ; Μέχρις ὀψέ, φασίν, περίμεινον αὐτόν· καὶ εἰάν ἔλθῃ, λαλήσει μετὰ σοῦ, εἰάν δὲ μὴ ἔλθῃ, μενεῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν ὧδε ἕως ἔρχεται. 2. λέγω αὐταῖς· Ἐκδέξομαι αὐτὸν ἕως ὀψέ· εἰάν δὲ μὴ ἔλθῃ, ἀπελεύσομαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον, καὶ πρῶτ' ἐπανήξω. αἱ δὲ ἀποκριθεῖσαι λέγουσί μοι· Ἡμῖν παρεδόθη· οὐ δύνασαι ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀναχωρήσαι. 3. Ποῦ οὖν, φημί, μενῶ; Μεθ' ἡμῶν, φασί, κοιμηθήσῃ ὡς ἀδελφός, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀνὴρ. ἡμέτερος γὰρ ἀδελφὸς εἶ, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μέλλομεν μετὰ σοῦ κατοικεῖν· λίαν γάρ σε ἀγαπῶμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡσυχνύομην μετ' αὐτῶν μένειν. 4. καὶ

ἡ δοκοῦσα πρώτη αὐτῶν εἶναι ἡρξατό με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιπλέκεσθαι (c. 90, 153)· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ὁρῶσαι ἐκείνην περιπλεκομένην μοι, καὶ αὐταὶ ἡρξαντό με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιάγειν (c. 100) κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου καὶ παίζειν μετ' ἐμοῦ. 5. κἀγὼ ὥσει νεώτερος ἐγγόνειν καὶ ἡρξάμην καὶ αὐτὸς παίζειν μετ' αὐτῶν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐχόρευον, [αἱ δὲ ὠρχοῦντο,] αἱ δὲ ἦδον· ἐγὼ δὲ σιγῇν ἔχων μετ' αὐτῶν κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου περιεπάτουν, καὶ ἰλαρὸς ἦμην μετ' αὐτῶν. 6. ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης ἤθελον εἰς τὸν οἶκον ὑπάγειν· αἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀφῆκαν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχον με. καὶ ἔμεινα μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν νύκτα, καὶ ἐκοιμήθην παρὰ τὸν πύργον. 7. ἔστρωσαν γὰρ αἱ παρθένοι τοὺς λινοὺς χιτῶνας ἑαυτῶν χαμαί, καὶ ἐμὲ ἀνέκλιναν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐποίουν εἰ μὴ προσήχοντο· κἀγὼ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀδιαλείπτως προσηυχόμην, καὶ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐκείνων. καὶ ἔχαιρον αἱ παρθένοι οὕτω μου προσευχομένου. καὶ ἔμεινα ἐκεῖ μέχρι τῆς αὔριον ἕως ὥρας δευτέρας μετὰ τῶν παρθένων. 8. εἴτα παρῆν ὁ ποιμήν, καὶ λέγει ταῖς παρθένοις· Μή τινα αὐτῷ ὕβριν πεποιήκατε; Ἐρώτα, φασίν, αὐτόν. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, εὐφράνθην μετ' αὐτῶν μείνας. Τί, φησίν, ἐδείπνησας; Ἐδείπνησα, φημί, κύριε, ῥήματα Κυρίου ὅλην τὴν νύκτα.

μενεῖς] The Virgins, like the Vices, ἀξιοῦσι παρ' αὐταῖς μένειν (c. 154). περιπλέκεσθαι here is suggested by Cebes, and likewise ἐμπλέκεσθαι in *Sim.* vi. 2. 6.

ὑβριν] *Mand.* viii. 10 ὕβριν ὑποφέρειν. *Sim.* vi. 3. 4 ὑβρίζομενοι ὑπὸ ἀναξίων. *Sim.* i. 6 ἀνυβρίστως. With inverted reference to the ὕβρις done to a man by Ἡδυνπάθεια (c. 160 ὑβρίζετο), Hermas in *Sim.* ix. 11 makes the Shepherd ask, Did they (the ascetic Virtues) do thee any ὕβριν?

Ἐδείπνησα] Having stayed a while with *Ψευδοπαιδεία*, a man should take from her as a *viaticum* γράμματα and μαθήματα (c. 531). The Church gives Hermas γράμματα...τῆς γραφῆς from her booklet (*Vis.* ii. 1. 4, 2. 1), and with the Virgins he sups on ῥήματα Κυρίου (*Matt.* iv. 4). But why δεῖπνον for ἐφόδιον? Hermas, not being on a pilgrimage, does not want any ἐφόδιον, but a supper suits the occasion. This therefore he is made to have, with allusion (we may suppose) to κυριακὸν δεῖπνον in 1 Cor. xi., as elsewhere the *Pastor*



alludes to Baptism. When a man comes to himself after abandonment to Ἡδυπάθεια, αἰσθάνεται ὅτι οὐκ ᾔσθιεν (c. 159). In *Sim.* v. 2. 9, 5. 3 the ἐδέσματα from the Master's δειπνον are ἐντολαί.

The character of Ψευδοπαιδεία is not clearly indicated by her name. She is stationed on the true and only way to Ἀληθινῇ Παιδείᾳ (c. 206 f.), and her teaching is not necessarily misleading, although her ἐρασταί may deceive themselves by mistaking it for the one thing needful. To others it is a useful ἐφόδιον.

Ψευδοπαιδεία and Ψευδοδοξία (c. 195 f.), with Ἀπάτη, meet in the pseudo-prophet of Hermas, who claims to have the Spirit, lives in deceits and deceives, but speaks some truths, and may be mistaken for a true prophet. *Mand.* xi., on the prophets, commences, Ἐδειξέ μοι ἐπὶ συμφελλίου καθημένους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἕτερον ἄνθρωπον καθημένον ἐπὶ καθέδραν. He is ψευδοπροφήτης, who ἀπόλλυσι τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν διψύχων (1). These come to him ὡς ἐπὶ μάγον (al. μάντιν), and he πληροῖ (c. 329 ἀνεπλήσθη) τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ βούλονται (2). τινὰ δὲ καὶ ῥήματα ἀληθῆ λαλεῖ (3). How is he to be known from the true prophet? The man who has τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον may be known by his life (7). The false prophet, ὁ δοκῶν πνεῦμα ἔχειν, lives ἐν τρυφαίᾳ καὶ ἀπάταις (12), and εἰς συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων οὐκ ἐγγίξει (c. 560), but associates with the doubleminded and deceives them (13). σὺ δὲ...τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἐπιγίῳ καὶ κενῷ μηδὲν πίστευε (c. 484), ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν (17).

*Mand.* xi. 1 suggests that the Church, who at first sits (like the ψευδοπροφήτης) ἐπὶ καθέδραν (p. 289), represents not only Παιδεία but also in part Ψευδοπαιδεία, the teacher of the "beggarly elements." In *Vis.* ii. the Church gives Hermas γράμματα, a mark in Cebes of some who frequent the δεύτερον περίβολον (c. 560 f.). *Vis.* i. and *Vis.* iii. correspond to the first and third περίβολοι.

On γράμματα in the *Pastor* and in the *Tabula* see also under c. 401 f. (p. 312).



## § 10.

c. 627 f. αἰρετώτερον τὸ ἀποθανεῖν] So Menander,  
ζοῆς (al. ζω.) πονηρᾶς θάνατος αἰρετώτερος.

In *Vis.* iv. 2 (p. 290) Hermas gives an application of the saying, thinking also of Matt. xxvi. 24, Mark xiv. 21.

The time and space at my disposal not sufficing for what remains to be said on "Hermas and Cebes," I will for the present end with the statement that the discoverer referred to at the beginning of this article is Dr J. M. COTTERILL, who in his full notes sent to me in 1895 remarks, that "To any one who makes a thorough study of the subject it is plain that there are very few passages indeed in Hermas in which the *Tabula* is not in his mind to a greater or less degree."

Looking back to the articles which I had previously written on or relating to *Hermæ Pastor* for the JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, I feel now that a right view was taken in them of the general character of his materials and his way of using them, but that there were things in the *Pastor* which only a comparison of it with the *Tabula* could explain.

C. TAYLOR.

CAMBRIDGE, 1900.

## ERRATA.

In heading of Article p. 51 and in running titles to pages 53, 55, 57, 59,

for XANΘΟΣ read ΞΑΝΘΟΣ

11

12

13





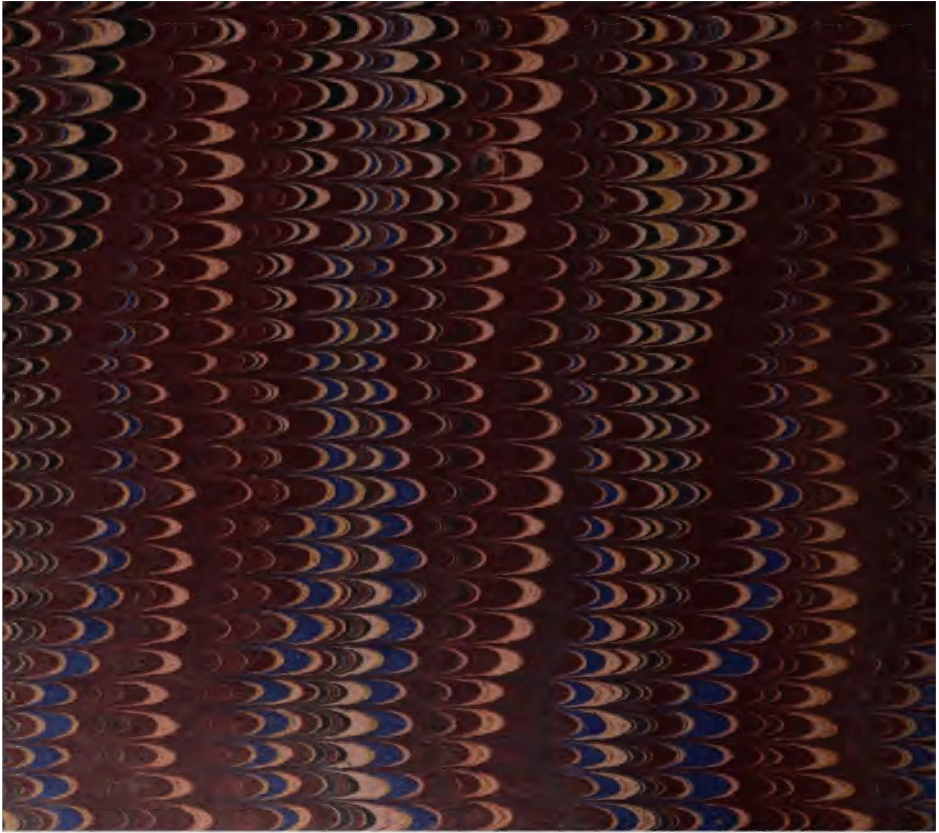












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